

*Hen. Dowd*

THE  
FALL OF  
MAN, OR THE  
CORRUPTION OF NA-  
TURE, PROVED BY THE  
light of our naturall  
*Reason.*

WHICH BEING THE FIRST  
GROVND AND OCCASION OF OVR  
Christian Faith and Religion, may likewise  
*serue for the first step and degree of*  
the naturall mans con-  
uerſion.

FIRST PREACHED IN A SERMON,  
ſince enlarged, reduced to the forme of a treatiſe,  
*and dedicated to the Queenes moſt ex-  
cellent Maieſtie.*

By GODFREY GOODMAN, her Maieſties Chaplaine,  
*Bachelor in Diuinitie, ſometimes a member both of*  
Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, and of  
*Saint Peters Colledge in*  
Weſtminſter.

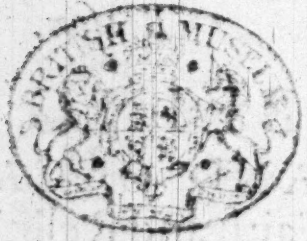
*Ne lateris quia cecidi, reſurgam. Mich. 7. 8.*

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by *Richard Lee.* 1616.



THE  
FALL  
OF  
MAN

CORRECTION OF THE  
TEXT



FIRST PUBLISHED IN A SERMON  
AND CONTAINED IN THE  
SERMONS OF THE  
REV. JOHN GURTON

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Windsor.

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# TO THE QUEENES

MOST EXCELLENT MAIE-  
STIE, OVR MOST GRACIOVS

Soueraigne Lady, and my most

*honoured Mistris Queene*

ANNE.

*May it please your most excellent  
Maiestie,*



THE scope and intent  
of Christian Religion  
seemes onely this, to  
raise vp man from the  
deapth of miserie and  
sinne, to the state of  
happinesse and saluation, from whence  
he is fallen: in effecting whereof, the one-  
ly powerfull and all-sufficient meanes is  
*Christ crucified*, God in our nature, our  
nature with God, God & man reconciled

A 3

in

*summa prima cate-  
chetice.*

*Summe of  
Christian Religion.*



# The Summe of =

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in the person of Christ, who was both God and man; here is the great propitiatorie sacrifice. For particular application whereof, there is requisite in euery one, *Faith*, which (supposing our naturall blindnesse and ignorance) takes our selues from our selues, placeth vs in God, seeing him, and beholding him, we see no more then he himselfe hath reuealed; *Hope*, (supposing our naturall distrust and fearefulness) notwithstanding the number and weight of our sinnes, yet casts a sure and strong anchor vp into Heauen, and there laies holde on Gods promises; *Charitie*, (supposing mans naturall disobedience and rebellion) desires a conformitie of the head to the members, and of the members betweene themselves. Thus *Faith* looks to the wisdom and truth of Gods nature, stands astonied at the mysteries, and takes all the articles of our Creede for her lessons: *Hope* fastens on the mercy and goodness of God, by the seruencie of Praier, and



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and the strong apprehension of the spirit, making the Lords Praier her patterne and president: Charitie considers the rule of Gods iustice, desires to square all our actions according to leuell, and lookes to the tables of the Lawe, as her objects. Here is the fabricke of the Church, Faith laies the foundation, Hope buildes vp the walles, Charitie giues it a couering, *for Charitie doth couer a multitude of sinnes*: but how shall mans naturall weakenesse attaine to these Theologicall vertues? As in all great buildings, so likewise here there are instruments and tooles appoynted to supplie our defects; and these are chiefly and principally Sacraments, and whatsoever else God hath commanded for his reasonable seruice. This is in effect the summe of Christian Religion, this is the summe of our ordinarie Catechisme. Thus before wee can raise man, he must first acknowledge his fall: he that shall intend to make any buildings in Gods

A 4 Church,

Baptism & y<sup>2</sup>  
Lordz Super

fmis



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Church, must lay the foundation in mans fall: for this is the porch or first entrance which leades vs to Christian Faith; and therefore speaking hereof, I thought fit to speake to the capacitie of the naturall man: herein I shall not need to straine his vnderstanding, to impose a yoake of faith, when as his owne reason shall reueale it in the substance, though not in the circumstance.

This fall of man appeares in the miseries of man, which being truely disco-  
uered, may teach vs what wee are in our selues. The greatnesse of our woe shewes the large extent of our sinne: this world which we inhabit, is but a vale of miserie, the happinesse of this world, is onely a painted miserie; in this miserie we may acknowledge the great mercy of God, who first created vs in happinesse, and notwithstanding our sinnes hath still ordained vs to happinesse; and in these miseries, he hath giuen vs some ease, as much as is befitting our present state and condition;



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dition; in sustaining these miseries, hee hath inabled vs with patience, and the holy comfort of his spirit; and euen our greatest miseries hee hath taken vpon himselfe, the more to teach him compassion, and with his miseries to satisfie for ours. Thus not onely the blessings and good gifts of God, but likewise our miseries set forth his goodnes. And thus as I haue endeouored to shew the mercy and prouidence of God in generall to whole mankinde, especiallie for our soules health and saluation; so here making bolde to write vnto your Maiestie, I could doe no lesse, then take some notice of the temporall blessings, wherewith God hath blessed vs aboue other people. This blessing especially consists in gouernment, whereby we receiue the fruites of peace, of plentie, of happines, and liue securely vnder the protection of our Princes; this blessing seemes to bee proper to this nation, proper to this present age wherein wee liue: for I will  
not.



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not speake how in former times, this our Land was distracted with small principalities and gouernements; when it should seeme the greatest part lay waste in borders and confines, when the strength was diuided within it selfe; I will onely beginne with the last age of our forefathers.

When as the dissention had long continued between the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, it pleased God so to permit, that the house of Yorke staining it selfe with his owne blood, when a cruell and mercilesse tyrant did murther most innocent and harmelesse Children, and thereby vsurped the Crowne; this tyrannie being likewise extended to others, and a most reuerend Bishop being committed to safe custodie; (*God remembring Ioseph in all his troubles*), his prison was his castle of defence, and his close keeping did serue as a counsell-Chamber for secrecie, where this reuerend Prelate, together with the greatest lay subiect, as  
it



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it were a representatiue Parliament consisting of Lords Spirituall and Temporal, Church and state together conspiring, did there contriue the happy means of their deliuerie, *to bring in Henry of Richmond to suppress this tyrant.* And God blessed the successe accordingly, that so still the same goodnesse of God might appeare vnto vs, which was once manifested to the Israelites vnder the tyrannie of *Pharaoh*, where the poore innocent children were likewise put to death, *the crie of my afflicted people is come vp vnto my eares, Exod. 3. 7.*

This *Henry of Richmond* being descended from the house of *Lancaster*, did therein seeme to promise vnto the world all happie successe; for men were well perswaded of that familie, being all of them most eminent for great vertues and qualities (as may appeare) *Hen. 4.* for his behauiour and courtesie: the *Fifth*, for his valour and magnanimitie: the *Sixth*, for his iustice and pietie. Now in the person



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son of this *Henry*, it is strange to obserue the prouidence of God; whereas the *Cambro-Britaines* (whom we improperly call *Welsh*) were the most ancient inhabitants of this Iland, being excluded and exiled into the most remote and barren parts, and there not suffered quietlie to rest, but brought vnder yoake and subiection, and hauing once beene vanquisht, yet could neuer bee admitted to the common libertie of subiects; and therefore flesh and blood could not withhold it selfe, or patiently endure such a bondage, but vpon all occasions they did continuallie reuolte: beholde, this good King *Henry* descended from them, bearing their name, and therefore by them making his first entrance into this happy Kingdome, (in token and memorie whereof he gaue his eldest Sonne the name of *Arthur*) it hath pleased God, that since that time, no people hath continued more loyall and obedient to their Princes then they. So that now, that  
which



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which before was spoken more improperly, and is at this time still carried in the Arms of our yong Princes (*Ich dien, cristenheide*) it is truly verified according to the letter; God laughing at the counsells of men, can erect the pillar of his providence in the vaide thoughts and cogitations of man: *ad hoc uenit*

Thus in his person, we may consider the quieting and pacifying of that nation, now being possessed of the Crowne, whereas (in humane policie) his sworde might haue kept it, as it was wonne by the sworde, yet it should seme, that hee respected rather the good of this kingdom, and the good of posteritie. And therefore by the happinesse of his marriage, hee vniued the two severall families, by whose diuision so many bloodie battailes had beene fought; our crueltie was practised vpon our selues; our Townes became vnpeopled; our land was left desolate, and fourescore Nobles and Princes of the blood Royall were  
flaine

*id est: ych Dyn: your Ma*



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slaine and murthered, so that mens mindes were daily distracted, and vpon euery dislike of the present gouernement, men had free refuge to that part, which they conceiued might bee most for their aduantage: miserable was the condition both for Prince and Subiect, but now are the roses vnited, the houses conioyned, by a most inseparable bond; for chaines and linkes of iron are not of such strength and force, as are the bonds of mariage.

After the happinesse of his mariage, followes the happinesse of his issue and succession: for his issue male ending in females, and gouerning this Scepter with great glorie and magnificence, for the space of a full age, it pleased God so to dispose in his prouidence, that this wise King being to place his two daughters in mariage, the one into Scotland, the other into France; and question being made by some of his Counsell where the eldest should bee bestowed: his answer was



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swere was, that hee had rather bring Scotland into England, then carrie England into France: as it were foreseeing in his wisdom (like a Prophetical spirit) the meanes and occasions whereby these Kingdomes might happilie be vnited; and God blessed the successe accordingly. For whereas since that time, by all likelihoode and probabilitie, this Kingdome should haue beene vnited, sometimes to Spaine, sometimes to France, and once, by an intended marriage to Scotland, though otherwise so backt with violence and force, as being more vnnaturall, was therefore lesse acceptable to God: but God, who had appointed the vniting of these kingdomes, had likewise appointed the meanes; lest the greater should seeme to contemne the lesse, therefore the lesser kingdome should containe in it selfe the right of inheritance to the greater. And thus this good King being inferior to none, either for valour, (for so hee attained his Crowne,



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Crowne, or for wisdom, being trained  
vp in the schoole of *Lewis* the eleuenth,  
hauing tasted both fortunes, made wise  
by experience; or for his iustice and pie-  
tie, leauing behinde him full coffers, and  
a plentiful treasure, hee died: for what  
should we expect but all happie successe  
from the Sonne of such a vertuous, such  
a godly, and most religious Mother, as  
was the *Lady Margaret Countesse of Rich-  
monde?*

Now (in these our daies) wee see the  
full accomplishing of all those blessings,  
which were then onely in hope and ex-  
pectation. For in the person of our most  
gracious King, besides all the blessings  
which were contained in *Henry*, wee see  
the perfect vniting of these kingdomes:  
God forbid that I should any way para-  
rell, or make comparison betweene the  
Graund-childe and his forefathers, this  
were fitter to bee done betweene stran-  
gers; yet sure I am, that not in any one  
propertie our Soueraigne comes short  
of



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of his Progenitors. For being to vnite two seuerall Kingdomes, it pleased God to giue him a disposition accordingly, such an open and louing heart generally to all (as being to gouerne people of diuers nations), that for the truth of his loue and affection, the whole World, or at least this whole Iland might not improperly seeme to bee his natieue soyle; such a bountifull and magnificent mind, (as hauing many kingdomes to be the objects of his bountie), that infinite and numberlesse they are, who haue found the sweete benefit of his beneuolence, either for profit or honour, or both; besides his wisdom and learning, wherein by many degrees hee hath surpassed all his Progenitors; his gouernement being agreeable to his nature, so milde, so temperate, that it seemes to be paternall, *as if Iacob were now amongst his sonnes, and had the promised land in possession.* In so much, that since his Maiesties most happy ariual to this kingdome, there hath  
(a) follo-



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followed such a generall Peace, as that for such a time wee neuer enioyed the like: for here amongst our selues, not any one of our Nobilitie hath suffered death; the subjects in generall haue enioyed such a free course of iustice, and such a secure time, that had it not beene for the monster of our age, the most horrible treason that euer was inuented (the Gun-powder plot), assuredly we should haue much doubted, whether it were possible for the minde of man to hatch any treason, against so loving, so gracious, and such a mercifull Prince. And in regard that this kingdome hath alwaies swaied a great part of Christendome, and hath giuen lawes vnto others, &c. it hath pleased God, that since his Maiesties comming to the Crowne, many bloodie warres haue been appeased by his most gracious mediation; and notwithstanding that the occasions did often appeare, which did seeme to threaten blood-shed and warre, yet God in  
(5)  
his



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his mercy hath so preuented it, as that there was neuer conceiued such a generall expectation of an vniuersall Peace to ensue.

And whereas not any Nation, vnder the Sunne, hath heretofore so farre preuailed ouer this Iland, as the Danes; by his Maiesties most happie Marriage, wee are now secured from all feare, and seeme to bee much strengthened by the alliance of a most stoute and warlike people; in so much that both for the entire loue, and brotherly affection to your Maiestie, as likewise for the great honour of this Kingdome, wee haue twice scene, to our great ioy and comfort,

*The most valiant and couragious Prince,*  
*The high and mightie Christian the fourth,*  
*King of Denmarke and Norway;* first riding thorough our streetes in triumph, (but in a peaceable triumph) since priuile and vnextpectiuely surprising your Maiesties person,<sup>1</sup> (for the truth of loue cannot alwaies stay the leisure to bee at-



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tended on with ceremonies). And thus God to shew the perpetuall league and couenant made with vs, hath so happily contriued, that the meanes for our perpetuall peace, might be for euer continued; that Nation, which heretofore hath been at our backs to pursue vs, now stand like sure friends to backe and to ayde vs.

For our most noble Prince *Charles*, considering that the continuance of our happinesse depends vpon his hope and expectation, I will forbear to speake; onely thus much I may say, that being descended from such noble Progenitors, as he partakes their nature, so their vertues, carrying a name, which hath beene most fortunate to the Christian world; his naturall disposition and education being such, as seemes to promise the enlarging of our happinesse, *My prayers shall be, that of this fruite, wee may receiue fruite, and that from his loynes these kingdomes may bee for euer established and*  
*knit*



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*knit together, as long as the Sunne and the  
Moone shall endure.*

To returne to your Maiestie, to whom  
I doe owe my particular seruice: how-  
focuer your Maiestie is no way desirous  
to heare your owne due praise and com-  
mendation, chusing rather to practise,  
then publish your vertues; yet I can  
doe no lesse then acknowledge with  
great ioyfulnesse of minde, with great  
thankefulnesse to God, the many blef-  
sings wherewith it hath pleased God to  
adorne your Maiestie. For what can  
bee required in a Princeesse, which God  
hath not most plentifullic and in a full  
measure imparted to your Maiestie,  
so royallie and noble descended, so  
religious and deuoute in Gods seruice,  
hauing such excellent gifts of nature  
for your wisdom and vnderstanding,  
and being euery way and in euery kinde  
most vertuous in your selfe; your Ma-  
iestie did neuer fauour any, but those  
that were trulie vertuous, and alwaies



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haue fauoured those most, who were indeede most vertuous; in so much that being most free from all affectation of popularitie (which sometimes proceeds not from the best grounds), yet your Maiestie hath alwaies been most highly honoured, as generallie of all, so especiallie of those who are truely vertuous; for your bountie, charitie, and magnificēce, which appeare, as to all vpo occasions, so more particularlie in helping relieuing, giuing large and yeerely pensions to the seruants of the late most noble Prince *Henry*: for your iustice, equitie, &c. not any Princesse in the world did euer loue iustice more truely and entirely then your Maiestie doth, taking onelie the protection of iust causes: in so much that whereas many thousands are bound dailie to pray for your Maiestie, yet I may boldly speake it, that the corruption of mans minde could neuer frame vnto it selfe, the least seeming or supposed occasion



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casion of complaint or grievance.

These blessings being such and so great, I could doe no lesse then remember them to Gods glorie, your Maiesties honour, and to our great comfort, beseeching God to continue them, daily to inlarge them, and to make vs thankful for them; and here I doe most humbly desire your Maiestie to pardon my boldnesse, in presenting these my vnworthie labours, and together with them my selfe, and all my endeouours to your most gracious seruice and protection; most earnestly beseeching your Maiestie to accept of them, though I doe truely and from my heart acknowledge, that they are all, most vnworthie of your acceptation; yet in recompence thereof, I will humbly beseech God in my dailie prayers, to blesse and preferue the Kings Highnesse, your Maiestie, our noble Prince *Charles*, the Prince and Princessse Palatine, with their issue, together with that most royall stocke and familie,

(a 4)



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milie, from whence your Maiestie is descended, that God in his mercie would giue vnto you all the blessings of nature abundantlie, the present earnest of his grace, and the future possession of his glory.

*Your Maiesties most humble  
seruant and Chaplaine*

Godfrey Goodman.

*John. Gould  
exchanged with Mr  
Henry Dowell & also  
diverse others*





## To the Reader.



**C**hristian Reader, there is nothing which I can so fitly recommend to thy daile and continuall thoughts, as is the meditation of Gods eternall providence: how God (many infinite ages before the foundations of the earth were laid) hath so ordained the course of this world, that according to his owne iust appointment, all things might succeed, and fall out in their due times and seasons, either for the manifestation of his mercy, or iustice, and this providence not including alone the great necessary, and naturall causes for the preservation of this vniuerse (suppose the motion and course of the heavens, the preservation of elements, and the like), but also to comprehend the voluntarie and free actions of man; so that God  
working



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Working in man works according to the condition of mans nature, the freedom of mans will subsisting with the over-ruling hand of Gods providence (for thus the causes are subordinated), and God working in nature, doth no way destroy his owne workes and that excellent order, which he himselfe hath appointed from the beginning.

This providence doth not onely extend it selfe to the great and most noble actions of man (suppose the government of kingdoms, & Empires, and whatsoever else may concerne the life and saluation of man), but it descends much lower, and as it comprehends the care and protection of dumbe beasts, so it stoopes even to the meanest and basest action of man, as the falling downe of his haire, &c. for wheresoever God begins the action, and makes a creature of nothing, there the same God with his preventing and subsequent providence, must continue his owne worke; for if it be left to it self, it will againe returne vnto nothing.

For euery man daily to consider, how God hath dealt with him in his providence, I suppose



## To the Reader.

pose it is a most Christian and godly meditation, free from all superstitious vanitie, such as I doe greatly recommend to thy practise, such as I my selfe (sinfull and wretched man that I am) haue continually found in the whole course of my life; what neither blind fortune, nor the trickes and subtilties of wit, nor the power and strength of man, could euer haue compassed, I haue found that God in his providence hath freely wrought and effected. To let passe all other things which are proper and priuate to my selfe (if thou pleasest to peruse this homely Pamphlet), I thinke it not vnfit to acquaint thee with this one accident.

When first I made choice of my text, I had thought to haue finished it within the compass of one houre, and hauing waded into it, (supposing it to be a subiect which did well deserue my labours), God did so dispose of it, that this whole treatise doth onely containe the first part or branch of the text. Secondly, hauing gathered some obscure and straggling notes for mine owne priuate vse, whereas I may boldly say, that no man did euer more  
abhorre



## To the Reader.

abhorre the Presse then my selfe; solemnly protesting that I would sooner bee racked or pressed to death for silence, rather then any words of mine should once hinder the Presse: wishing from my heart, that there might be some generall vacation, that new booke might for a time cease, that wee might finde at length some leisure to peruse, reuew, and reprint the old Fathers; not contenting our selues with patcht peeces, and broken sentences, but that they might be heard ingeniously to speake for themselves. For as we doe recommend the reading of Scriptures, so let vs not neglect the best Commentaries and Expositions of Scriptures, that so the beate of our zeale, which now is wholly wasted in controuersies and oppositions, might then be spent in the practise of pietie and deuotion, &c. Notwithstanding this my resolution, yet I was easily moued (and the rather because I doe not remember any booke written of this Subiect) to publish this treatise.

In perusing whereof foure things there are, where with I thinke fit to acquaint thee:  
first,



## To the Reader.

first, though (I confesse) I haue herein made  
vse of other mens workes, yet I did forbear  
to set downe any quotations, not that I desire  
to wrong them, but that I think it vnfit, when  
occasion did not moue me, or necessitie inforce  
me, there to vse many needlesse and idle quo-  
tations. Secondly, though the punishment and  
fall of man appears chiefly and principally in  
respect of his preparation to grace; yet my  
selfe supposing at this time, that I speake only  
to the naturall man, I thought fit to forbear  
speaking of that subiect, untill first I should  
make it appeare, that there is a sanctifying  
grace, which is no way tyed or intailed to our  
nature, which I haue reserued as a fit subiect  
to bee treated of in the third branch of my  
text. Thirdly, in the latter end of the second  
part, speaking of the vanitie of the creatures,  
if therein according to the condition of that  
subiect, I shall sometimes intend (though much  
against mine owne naturall disposition) in  
this my long tedious discourse, to giue thee  
some ease and recreation, I hope it shall proue  
no way offensive, no nor against thy iudgement  
and



## To the Reader.

and strictest discipline of the Church; seeing I can therein iustifie my selfe, by the practise and president of most deuout Fathers, and others most reuerend Diuines in all ages. Fourthly, speaking there of many worldly vanities, my intent is, onely to discover them to be but shadowes, in respect of a true blisse, that so euery man might fall into some dislike with himselfe; yet (I confesse) that many things may, and ought still to be continued, considering the state and condition wherein we liue, as namely the ceremonies of Honor, &c.

My desire is, that thou wouldest iudge of the whole, by the whole; of the parts, by the parts: for if the whole be taken together, I hope I shall not be found wanting or defectiue to my intended scope. If sometimes I prooue somewhat obscure, God (who knowes the secrets of my heart) can beare me witnesse, how free I am from the least affectation of obscuritie; and therefore you must either blame my weakenes, as not conceiuing things aright, or not able sufficiently to expresse mine own conceits: or else you must consider the subiect matter



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matter whereof I write, which being very difficult in it selfe, must necessarily admit words of Art to unfold it. To conclude, I thought fit to continue this treatise, in the same forme wherein it was first framed, expecting that the God of truth should give a greater blessing to the relation of a truth; neither would my time or leisure permit me to alter it. And if it shall please God, that this booke finde happie successe, so that some little good may thereby redound unto Gods Church, whereby I shall be the more encouraged to proceede in those parts which yet remaine; though I purpose to give full satisfaction (as farre forth as it lies in my power), yet if possibly I can, I will tie my selfe to the houre-glasse: ingeniously confessing, that as all other builders are commonly mistaken in their first workes, so my selfe have erred in laying the foundations, or setting up the porch of this building.

Thus being men of the same kind, brethren descended from one stocke, but especially as fellow-members incorporated into one body,  
under



## To the Reader.

*Under one mysticall head Christ Iesus, in the  
most holy communion of his Saints, well wish-  
ing and praying for each other, I doe most  
humbly and earnestly beseech God, that  
either thou maist receiue some smal pro-  
fit by my labours, or that thou maist be-  
stow thine own labours elsewhere more  
profitably: and so committing thee  
to his grace, prouidence and  
protection, I rest.*

*Stapleford Abbats, the 3. of  
June, 1616.*

*Thine in all Christian  
duty and seruice*

**Godfrey Goodman.**





# THE FALL OF MAN.

In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost: our Creator, our Redeemer, our Sanctifier; three persons, and one God; *Amen.*

1. COR. 2. 14.

*The naturall man cannot conceive the things of the spirit of God.*



Here is no myserie in the whole course of Christian religion, wherein I finde my selfe so much moued and affected with true ioy, as when I consider the extent of Gods mercie, in the calling and conuersion of the Gentiles: for alas, what auailes it mee to thinke of Gods maiestie, wisdom, power, iustice, eternitie, when all these attributes of God, may turne to my terror and torture? But when I consider the mercie of God, *tunc mea res agitur*, there is that transient propertie of God, whereby all the rest of his attributes are imparted to the creatures: and when I consider this streame of mercie, not to be inclosed

B

within

*Deuise of the  
of his name  
written in them*

*mercies followe*

The conuersion of the Gentiles.

When I think on Gods mercy & loue:  
A Sea of ioy my heart doth moue.

*P yn cobiwi drigared ty m=hrynwr a i Nerth:  
Bhyng-halon sy yn phlagru o i gariad a i serch.*



within the narrow passage of a few tribes, not to be appropriated or monopolized to the sonnes of *Iacob*; but to ouerflow the bankes, to breake downe the partition wall, together with the vaile of the Temple, and *at length, at length, at length* to be-water the fruitlesse and barren soiles of the Gentiles; so that with God there should be no longer any difference or acceptation of persons, but together with the Sunne-shine and dew of the heauens, his mercie should drop downe with fardnesse; here is the sure anchor of my hope, the fulnesse and consummation of my ioy: And therefore the day of *Epiphanie*, of all other daies in the yeere, shall be the day of my greatest mirth and solemnitie; wherein those great Magi, those Princes and Kings being publike persons, representing the whole bodie and state of the Gentiles, presented themselves, and were accepted of Christ; and we in their loines, descended from them, together with them receiued the lot and portion of our inheritance: *Iaphet* is now admitted to the tents and tabernacles of *Shem*; heere is the kingdome of *Shilo*, which admits no other limits or bounds of his empire, then the compasse and circumference of the whole world; blessed are the feete of them, which brought vs such glad tidings of peace: me thinkes I see the Angels descending and renewing their songs, vsing the same notes and dittie to vs, which they did to the shepheards, *Natus est vobis saluator*; A Sauour is borne vnto you, a generall peace is proclaimed on earth, and good will towards all men extended: neither can I containe my selfe, but my ioy must burst into songs, *Hosanna, Hosanna to the sonne of David; blessed be hee, that comes in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest, sing Halleluia, Halleluia, Halleluia.*

The feare of a  
relapse.

I haue no sooner ended my song, but me thinkes I am fallen into a cold sweate, and am suddenly stricken with





with great feare and confusion, as indeed this world, subsisting betweene Heauen and Hell, partakes the nature of both; the extreames, and allaies; the excessiue ioyes of the one, with the feares and terrors of the other, making a strange mixture betweene hope and feare: for when I obserue the course of things, the seuerall actions and inclinations of men; when I consider the diseases of these times, together with all the signes, tokens, and symptomes: alas, alas, I feare a relapse, I feare a relapse, lest the world in her old doting age, should now againe turne infidell, and that the end of vs be worse then the beginning. The sicke patient indeed will not confesse her disease: but this doth not acquit her, rather it makes her state more dangerous: neuer so much boasting of faith, as there is at this day; for to many it serues as a soueraigne medicine, an excellent antidote, to exclude the necessitie of good workes: or if any one should professe open heathenisme and infidelitie, what reward should hee haue of his follie?

But when I consider, that nothing is of such difficultie, as to induce faith, and to perswade man, beyond the course and streame of his owne nature, to belecue the mysteries of religion; considering mans naturall infidelitie and distrust, the infinite windings and turnings of his mind, to lay hold on it, to imprison it, and to chaine it to the pillar of faith; considering (I say) that all the markes and tokens of infidelitie doe sufficiently discover themselves; a generall want of zeale and deuotion; a great neglect of all Christian mortification and discipline; the ouerflowing and ripenesse of sinne in this last age of the world; and certaine it is, that in euery sinne, there is a mixture of infidelitie, *auersio à Deo*, and of Idolatrie, *conuersio ad creaturas*, the greater the sin, the more is the infidelitie: for would ye count him an

The grounds  
of this feare.



Infidell or Idolater, that offers vp but two graines of incense to an Idol? and will ye suppose him to be lesse, who offers and spends his whole life, and consecrates himselfe to the worship, seruice, and the immoderate vse of the creatures, without any thought or reference to the Creator? Considering again the nature and efficacie of faith: for if the vnderstanding be sufficiently informed, and throughly resolved, the will must necessarily follow her directions; and to their rule and government all our outward actions must be squared out, and measured accordingly: for euery tree is knowne by his fruits, and euery thing according to the inward existence, so hath it an outward operation: if our hearts were inlightned, they could not prodnce such workes of darknesse; if the fire were kindled, it could not bee accompanied with such coldnes of charitie. And therefore I pray' pardon me, if I haue not so much faith, as to belecue the faith of many, that make an open profession of faith; or at least giue me leaue, as in all actions and policies of state, so in religion, sometimes to suspect and preuent the worst: and therefore while others labour in repairing the walles, some in erecting and couering the roofe, some in beautifying and adorning the Temple, giue me leaue to search the foundation, which though it stand vpon a Rocke, Christ Iesus being the head corner stone of the building, against whom neither storme nor tempest, no not the powers of hell can preuaile; yet if I shall in some sort discover the strength of this building, we our selues may better secure our selues in the certaintie and infallibilitie of our faith; the deepe and sure foundation will keepe vs from wauering, and it may likewise serue to preuent the assaults and attempts of the heathen. Herein I shall follow the practise of wise husbandmen, who sometimes digge and lay naked the roote, that so the tree may



may fructifie, and bring foorth fruite in greater abundance.

Especially for the honour of our progenitors, to iustifie the proceedings of those great Magi, together with the iust motives and grounds of their happie conversion, I wil follow their steps, runne the same course, and take the same pilgrimage with them guided by a starre, the light of reason, the contemplation of nature. I will direct my course to Ierusalem, the place of Gods worship; where the law of God, which giues the best testimonie of God, is kept in safe custodie; there I will make a great outcrie, a solemne proclamation, *Vbi est, qui natus est rex Iudeorum*: then after due search of the Law and the Prophets, I will hasten to Bethel-lem, where I will adore God in the manger, the Sonne of God in a cradle.

The Magi.

Thus in this great world you may obserue, that first there was a state of nature, which was the forerunner to the Law: then followed the Law, which was a preparatiue to the Gospell: now at length succeeds the Gospell, wherein there is the fulnesse of knowledge, as much as is besitting our nature and present condition: if an Angell from heauen shall teach any other way, let him be accursed: and yet we may expect some further reuelation of the mysteries of Christs kingdome, when wee our selues shall be more capable thereof, which shall be in the state of happinesse and glorie.

Thus vndertaking to search the ground-worke of religion, I will claime vnto my selfe these two priuiledges: First, in the foundation no man sets iewels or pretious stones; rubbish or vnheuen stone will suffice, when wee looke only to the strength of the building: If I could vse many quotations of Fathers, Councels, Canons, Schoolemen, or humane learning, I would forbear to doe it, these shall serue to polish



and beautifie the Temple: but I will neuer admit them to the ground-worke, lest in stead of props, they might seeme to vndermine and weaken the foundation, if religion should relie vpon such incertainties.

Secondly, in laying the foundation, no man is ouer curious in the workmanship; caruing and cutting may well be spared, when we regard only the strength of the building: Pardon me if my stile be vulgar, and that I doe not obserue a right methode; for I will take vnto my selfe this libertie, and in lieu thereof I will only intend demonstratiue prooffe.

I will bee more sparing in alleaging Scripture, though it be authenticall and sufficient in it selfe: yet here I will not expose it to the battell, for I am to deale with the heathen, her seruants and handmaides. Reason and common sense shall stand in the forefront, and beare the whole brunt of the combat. Arts and Sciences they doe not proue their owne principles, but as they are linckt together in a golden chaine, so they do mutually and reciprocally performe this dutie to each other, especially the Metaphisicks, which as a superintendent takes no particular charge, but visits her whole prouince; confirms the principles of Arts; appoints their circuits and bounds, and giues them their due approbation. Such is the force and efficacie of truth, that wheresoeuer or howsoeuer disposed, still she carries the same stampe, and stands alike affected to the maintenance of her selfe, and is alwaies readie prest either to fight, or to bee deposed, in defence of her owne right.

Since man, according to his condition, is naturally lead by sense, for want of a better guide, I will take vpon me to conduct him, from sensible obiects by the light of his owne reason, to the knowledge of things spirituall: and to this end I haue made choice of this

text;

Naturall reason shall be our guide.

Metaphisicks



text; *The naturall man cannot comprehend the things of the spirit of God.* Wherein I will shew first the insufficiencie of nature, in attaining the least part of this heavenly knowledge. Secondly, how nature may rest satisfied, contented, and yeeld her assent to the mysteries of faith, notwithstanding her owne ignorance: this shall be the scope and intent of my speech.

But how shall I (that am a naturall man) presume to approach, vnlesse I be guided by Gods spirit? Now the meanes to obtaine this spirit is inuocation and prayer: Prayer, which is a naturall sacrifice, taught vs by a naturall instinct, and serues as a preparatiue to grace, nature supporting grace, tending and directed to grace: the vessell and instrument of grace, hath first ingrafted in vs preparatiue and disposing qualities to grace. He that seasoneth and sanctifieth nature, powre downe his grace, and touch my tongue with a coale from his altar: he that plaies the sweete musicke, first tune the instrument; let vs draw nigh vnto God, and he will draw nigh vnto vs.

*Blessed Lord God, &c.*

**I**T hath been a long obiection of many wordlings and Atheists, who conforming themselves to the loose condition of these times, seeke by all possible meanes to weaken the grounds and foundations of our Christian faith; that religion seemes too much to inforce the reason and vnderstanding of man; that whereas by nature we haue some inward instinct, some inbred principles and seedes of knowledge, frō whence the reasonable and discursive soule drawes her certaine conclusions, for our guide and direction here in the course of this life; yet religion, especially Christian religion,

The intent of the author.

*Precautio: quid*

A generall obiection.

*Mirabile ca. no.*



religion, seemes wilfully to oppose it selfe against the current and streame of mans nature; it propounds precepts and rules of practise, contrary to mans owne inclination; mysteries of faith, ouerthrowing the grounds of reason; hope beyond all coniecture and probabilitie; as if man could conspire against himselfe, or that the testimonie of the whole world could preuaile against the cabinet-counsel and knowledge of his own soule; as if that God which reueales the mysteries of grace, were not the same God which first laid the foundations of nature. To whom shal a man giue credit and trust, if the inward light of his owne soule shall serue as a meanes to delude him? vse the best motives and perswasions, yet still the Schoole holds, that *Iudicium ultimum practici intellectus determinat voluntatem*. Man, according to the measure of his own knowledge, giues his assent or dissent; to be credulous and easie of beleefe, is no token of the greatest wisedome.

If reason should be altogether silenced in the points of our faith, the God should moue mā not answerable to his state and condition, but as a stocke, or as a stone, not any way concurring, no labourer, or fellow workman in the action. Take away the groundwork of reason and discourse, we shall neuer be able to put a difference between the infusions of grace, and the delusions of error, but all must be admitted alike: for signes, miracles and prophecies haue ceased, which were wont to be the seales for the confirmation of the truth: now to admit this, were to leade the vnderstanding captiue, a thing farre more detestable, then was the slauerie and bondage of Egypt.

If this their accusation and complaint were iust, if the grounds of faith could not together subsist with the grounds of reason, but that there were an opposition and contrarietie betweene both, howsoeuer I could

Their false  
supposition.



could not altogether excuse them; for then I should vpbraide God, with his owne workmanship; how shall the vessell say vnto the Potter, why madest thou mee thus? yet certainly their case would seeme much more fauourable, to the cares of an indifferent man; and for my selfe, I would humbly surcease my duty & calling, and desire God to vse the ministry of Angels, for the conuersion of man; for flesh and blood cannot preuaile against the naturall inclination of flesh and blood: nothing can struggle or striue against nature, the current and streame is so violent: for nature is the foundation, whereupon wee must build: now if the walles, or the roose seeme ouer great, or ouerthwart to the foundation, no maruell if the whole building fall to decay. The Philosopher will testifie as much: *Natura intus delitescens prohibet alienum*: bee the water neuer so scalding hot, yet will it returne to her first and naturall coldnesse. The Poet wil say as much in effect: *Naturam expellas furcâ, licet usque recurret*: set the naturall man vpon the racke, yet is it impossible that euer he should belecue any thing contrary to the light of his owne reason: this is a naturall inclination of nature to her selfe, and it is no way contradicted in Scripture; for the naturall law, the Ceremoniall law, and the Iudiciall law might together subsist; and at this time the Morall law, imprinted in mans owne heart, is no way abolished: now as is the will of man inclined to our actions, so is our vnderstandings disposed to our faith, both of them defectiue, and neither of them opposite; and therefore the Apostle doth heere place spirituall things much aboue nature, farre transcending nature, beyond the Sphere of nature, but no way contrary or opposite to nature.

Thus by the grace of God it shall well appeare, that reason, and mans naturall vnderstanding, are so farre from



A generall  
Answer.

from ouerthrowing the principles of Christian religion, as that they seeme rather greatly to confirme and strengthen them. See here the goodnesse of God; though God needs not the testimonie of man, the Sun at noone day needs not to bee discovered by the light of a candle; yet for mans owne satisfaction and contentment, hee requires the witnesse and testimonie of man: *Tabernaculum posuit in sole, legem in corde*: truth is not repugnant to truth; nature supports grace; and as both of them proceed from one fountaine, so the same God, who is the author of both, will not destroy his owne workes: *Sed agit secundum modum uniuscuiusque natura*: If God requires faith in the vnderstanding, conformity in the will; then vndoubtedly the same God hath first infused in them an inclination to both. Compare the vnderstanding to the eye: suppose you were to apply some medicine, some plaister or salve; at the first indeed it seemes to put out the sight, but at length it purgeth and cleanseth the eye: naturall reason (I confesse) of it selfe is defectiue, and cannot apprehend the mysteries of faith; but being once cured and enlightened by faith, sanctified by grace, it serues to confirme and strengthen the grounds and principles of faith; and therefore our Diuines suppose reason to haue the same reference to faith, which sometimes leauen had to the sacrifices of the Law; and indeed Scripture signifieth, one by the other: *Beware of the leauen of the Pharisees*, Matth. 18. that is to say, as the Interpretors expound; beware of the humane wisdom and subtiltie of the Pharisees. Now leauen it was excluded from the sacrifices, Leuit. 2. And in the sequent of Leuit. it was commanded, that the sacrifices should bee laid and offered vpon leauened bread: *Super fermentatos panes*: the intent of the law-giuer was, that leauen should be no part of the sacrifice, and yet



yet no sacrifice to be performed without leaven: reason, or humane knowledge must not enter into, or comprehend the mysteries of faith; and yet the mysteries of faith must necessarily presuppose the groundworke and foundation of reason: *Principia religionis sunt nobis innata*: reason informes man, that the end of mans creation consists not in man himselfe, who vndoubtedly shall tast and see corruption, but in the glory and seruice of his maker; to him there is due, not onely the subiection of the body, with humility and reuerence; but likewise the obedience of the soule; the will denying it selfe, and made conformable to Gods law; the vnderstanding acknowledging his own blindness, prostrating it selfe to the light and information of faith; there must be a totall and absolute subiection, befitting the infinite and absolute Empire of the diuine Maiesty: and hence it is that neither the vegetatiue, nor the sensitiue, but onely the reasonable creature is made capable of religion: and hence it is that the inuisible God, appearing by the visible creatures, the vnbelieuing man is made vnexcusable.

That I might herein giue all men some contentment and satisfaction, as farre forth as it lies in my power, I haue made choyce of this text; wherein I will consider the two extremities; 1. the naturall man; 2. the things of the spirit of God; and then 3. the disproportion which consists, as in dignity, power, eternity, and all other the diuine attributes: *Finiti ad infinitum nulla est ratio seu proportio*: so likewise in knowledge, *non percipit*, hee cannot conceiue the things of the spirit of God: that I may deale with him vpon equall tearmes, that no aduantage, or iust exception should be taken; I doe heere protest, that I will vse no other weapons to conuince this naturall man, but onely the light of his owne naturall reason: I will lay aside  
Scripture,

The generall  
diuision of  
the Text.



Scripture, Fathers, Councels, the vniforme and Catholicke consent of the whole world: I doe onely appeale to himselfe, and to his owne knowledge. I stand vpon the goodnesse and equitie of my cause; and therefore I doe not feare to make him, that is the aduerse partie in the suite, the iudge of my cause.

Thus farre indeed I must excuse my selfe; I can doe no lesse then sometimes vse the phrase of Scripture, considering my profession, my habite, bred & brought vp in the Schooles of the Prophets; speaking to a Christian Auditorie, in a religious time, and place. Againe, sometimes you must giue me leaue to suppose that for a truth, which afterward I will bring to the touchstone; for all cannot be proued in an instant. Haue patience, and forbear mee a while, and I doe heere promise, that if my whole and entire speech shall bee duly examined, the burthen and waight of my arguments shall onely relie vpon naturall reason.

A more particular diuision of the Text.

In the first part of my text, concerning the naturall man, I will speake of these three things: first, that by the light of nature we doe discern, and acknowledge the corruption of nature. Secondly, that by the light of nature we are sufficiently instructed, that nature is no competent guide, to conduct vs to a supernaturall end. Thirdly, that nature being thus defectiue, there is some higher state and condition, whereunto being once admitted, wee may bee directed to happinesse. So in the first part, in the naturall man, I will consider nature corrupted, nature defectiue and imperfect, nature supplied by grace. Secondly, in the other extremitie I will consider, first, how farre the naturall man may wade into the knowledge of the Deity. Secondly, what is exempted from his knowledge, and wherunto he must not approach, *videlicet*, to the things of the spirit of God. Thirdly, in the disproportion consisting in knowledge,



knowledge, I will first consider the reason why these things are concealed from reason. Secondly, how man shall satisfy the curiosity of his owne minde, notwithstanding his owne ignorance, in the humble submission of his owne soule, together with a sufficient warrant for our faith, and security.

I shall not here neede to describe the naturall man; for it is not vnknewne vnto you, that God, by vertue of his promise, to preserve and continue the same excellent order, which was first instituted in the creation, hath tied himselfe to impart some things vnto the creatures, as necessary and essential to the being, without which the creature cannot subsist; other things are added, as onely accessory to the nature, and these depend vpon the free-will; and choyce of the giver. Hence it is that there are severall kindes, and sorts of creatures; and to every kinde, there are severall and peculiar properties allotted; and in one and the same kind, there appears a great variety of gifts, and of ornaments. As then wee finde a difference betweene the vegetative, sensitive, and the reasonable creature: so of reasonable creatures, some have onely an instinct of nature, a reasonable and discursive soule, wherein the principles of humane knowledge are ingrafted: others, besides this little sparke of reason, are further enlightened, by the assistance of Gods spirit, as children taught by their Schoole-master. Now conceive man onely consisting of nature, without hope of happines, or any further direction of grace (such as were the morall Heathen, the vncircumcised Gentiles) which state and condition every man claimes, by vertue of his first birth; and here you have the naturall man described. Now that there should bee such a difference betweene man, and man; that grace should be distinguished from nature, I will not here insist vpon the prooffe: for

Who is the  
Naturall man.



for by Gods helpe it shall easily appeare, by the sequell of my speech.

It cannot be denied, but nature in generall is much corrupted; which doth more argue the corruption of mā in particular, being that whole nature is directed to man. First it appeares, in that shee is more plentifull, and abounding in euill, then in good: *Vna est recta linea, curua infinita*: there is but one straight and direct passage, but there are many infinite by-waies, and pathes: there is but one truth, answerable to that eternall truth, which is but one, and one alone, about the Sphere of the creatures: but there are diuers and infinite falshoods: there is but one state of a sound and whole constitution; but diseases, and distempers are numberlesse: to euery vertue, there are many vices opposed; to euery meane, there are many extreames. If nature were indifferent, and indifferently affected, as well to the one, as to the other; then might wee claime (according to the course and rule of iustice) an equall ballance. Suppose with the Maniches, that there were two distinct principles, one of good, another of euill; yet both of them should be alike bounded in power, and should share alike in their actions; for otherwise, in time, the one would deuoure and extinguish the other: but considering that there is onely one fountaine, from whence whole nature proceeds; and that the fountaine onely of good, without any mixture of euill: certainly this malignitie of nature, proceeds not from her first institution, but from some after accidentall corruption.

Secondly, if many snares were laid to intrap vs, and many euils, counterfeit and disguised in the habite of goodnesse, should assault vs; it would then stand with the prouidence and perfection of nature, that if shee could not viterly abolish them, yet to frustrate their attempts,

More euill  
then good.

Nature more  
inclines vnto  
euill, then vn-  
to good.



tempts, to decline from those evils, and to make the creatures more warie, and cautionate: but it falles out farre otherwise, cleane contrarie; whereas being placed betweene generation, and corruption, shee should equally partake of both, according to rule, measure, & proportion; obserue the disparitie, there is but one way of production, one manner of birth, a framing and fashioning in the wombe; but there are infinite by-waies, which leade to destruction and ruine; fire, water, sword, famine, diuers and seuerall mischances: many moneths are required for the constitution of a body, but in an instant it is suddenly dissolued. Suppose that any part of man were rotted, or consumed; this part, vnles incision be made, will vndoubtedly corrupt the whole body: but why should not the whole body, being greater in quantity, indued with that actiue and soueraigne quality of heate, rather endeavour and strue to regaine this one corrupted member, and to restore it to perfection? One man infected with the plague, is able to inflame the whole City: why should not the whole City rather, being perfect and sound, recall this one infected member? One beast tainted with the murren, destroyes the whole flocke; and all creatures finde it a rule in their actions, that, *Facilius est destruere, quàm componere*; it is easier to pull downe, then to build; it is easier to deface, then to perfect. See here, nature discouers her selfe, or at least seemes to complaine of her owne wants: shee is corrupted, she is corrupted; and therefore no longer to be held as a louing mother, or as an indifferent iudge; but to be accounted as a partiall step-dame, wholly tending and enclining to corruption.

Thirdly, to descend more particularly to the seuerall parts of nature; the heauens, and the earth, seeme to conspire the one against the other: for the greatest part  
of

The Heauens  
against the  
Elements.

3



of the yeere) these inferiour bodies seeme to be frozen, and congealed with coldnesse in the Sunnes absence; or else to be scorched and consumed with heate, by his ill neighbourhood, and nearer access: the least part of the yeere is temperate; as likewise the least part of the earth is temperate and habitable, either in regard of the climate, or in regard of the soyle; barren heathes, high mountaines, stonie rockes, wast desarts and wildernes: I speake not of the huge Ocean, which with her armes seemes to imbrace the whole earth, and farre to exceed it in quantity; but I pray, what might cause the vnseasonable weather; excessive drought in the spring, excessive moysture in haruest; the spring alwaies annoyed with an East winde, which nippes the tender bud; and the Autumne alwaies molested with a boysterous Westernne winde, which scattereth the frutes before they are ripened? it should seeme, that in the beginning God did square and proportion the heauens for the earth, vsing his rule, leauell, and compasse; the earth as the center, the heauens for the circumference; the earth as an immoueable stocke, still obserues the same distance, the same scituation and place. Whence comes the diuersitie, the stormes, and the tempests, the famine, the pestilence, and the like? can Magistrates and Rulers conspire to ouerthrow the State? can Princes commit a treasonable act? or is there opposition, and factions in heauen, as well as in earth, amongst those simple and pure bodies, consisting of the same quintessence and nature, and therefore in reason should not admit contrariety in their actions? The Starres in generall intend the earths fruitfulnessse; each one in particular hath his seuerall office and dutie: if vertue be added to vertue, and their influence together concurre, it should rather further and perfect the action; certainly some over-ruling hand and prouidence stirres vp these vapours,



rores, and thereby intimates the reciprocal opposition, as of the earth to the heavens, so of the heavens to the earth; but the root of this dissention first bred, and is still fastened in the earth, from whence proceeds the first occasion of these tumults.

Fourthly, I will leaue the heavens, and come to these lower regions; for we are fallen, we are fallen, from the heavens to the earth, and heere I will take a suruey of nature: What is it that preserues nature in the same state, wherein she consists? the Philosopher will tell you: *Discors elementorum concordia*: is it possible that a well ordered, and a well gouerned state, should onely be vpheld and maintained with banding and factions? this seemes to detract from the prouidence; for it stands with the condition of creatures to bee finire, and to receiue bounds and limitations, as in their nature, so in their actions, and qualities; neither can it stand with wisdom or iustice, that creatures should thus trespasse vpon creatures, and offend each other, without any sufficient vmpire, or indifferent iudge to take vp the controuersie. Shall I tell you the reason? Man, who was principally ordained for Gods seruice, as all other creatures for man; man (I say) breaking his owne bounds, being *nexus & natura vinculum*, it must necessarily follow, that all the rest of the creatures, which were bound and knit together in man, should likewise be inordinate, & overflow their owne banks: if the Captaine and guide first breake the ranke, no maruell if the souldiers fall to confusion. But in the meane time, how stands the Deity affected to this alteration and change? *Metit ubi non seminavit*: hee had neither part nor portion in mans sinne; yet like an excellent Alchemist, hee drawes water out of the hard rocke, he turnes this sinne to a further manifestation of his owne glory: hee created not the elements thus re-

C

bellious,

The elements  
against them-  
selues.



bellious, but leaving them to themselves, then began the insurrection. Now God like a cunning States-man, so fortifies each partie and faction, and in a iust balance weighes out their strength, that being equally matched, the combate is so doubtfull, as it prolongs the battell, and at length, in a time best knowne to himselfe, hee shall no longer interpose himselfe as an vmpire; but vnbridle them; and giue them free power to reuenge their owne wrongs, and worke their owne wrath, and then shall follow the dissolution of nature. Thus one and the same cause serues as a present token of mercy, and as a future engine of iustice.

Of compound  
bodies.

Fifthly, but I should leese my selfe, I should long wander in the vast and huge elements; let it suffice, that none of them are perfect and pure in their owne proper places and wombes. I will descend to mixt and compound bodies: Here seemes to be the pitch't field, the place appointed for the combate and encounter of the elements: see how they take aduantage of the times, and the seasons, desiring to possesse themselves of the best parts; as of the strongest holds: they haue their seuerall factions, in the body the variety of humours, according to the periods of ages, and the differences of complections, they haue their conquest, their rule, and their government. But let mee stay my selfe, for if I should proceed in this subiect, I should onely make a compound of that which before I haue spoken simple: I will in these mixt bodies, select some proper defects onely incident to them: I will not here accuse, I will not arraigne, I will not condemne nature (with the Paracelsian) for gathering together the cast-away-seedes of the creatures; and exhaling them to the wombe of an vpper region, doth there bring forth a strange Sodomiticall brood. O the abominable filth and vnclannesse of nature!

For



For those mixt imperfect creatures (the wormes, and the flies) which seeme to excell all others, in the variety, and excellencie of glittering colours, *generantur ex putri*, they are ingendred of corruption; the basenesse of their birth shewes their condition; they are markes of corruption, more imperfect then the elements, worse then corruption it selfe, being indeed the fruites of corruption, notwithstanding their sense, their motion, diuersity of parts and glorious appearance, yet many of them are bred in an instant, and die in a moment. There is *Ephemera*, whose night is a perpetuall night, some with the distemper of the day, but all of them with the change of the seasons, returne to their first mother and nurse corruption. If nature were sound and entire, either shee would not busie her selfe, to beget such base and contemptible wormes; rather shee would first preuent the corruption it selfe, and giue them a more noble birth, and a longer continuance of life; but being defective, and not able to produce couragious Lions, braue Vnicornes, fierce Tigers, stout Elephants, shee makes it her taske and imployment to be the mother, and mid-wife of wormes, of gnats, and of butterflies, wherein she seemes most to abound, and to bring forth a very plentifull brood.

Secondly, speaking of things compound, giue mee leaue to compound my argument of two reasons, not onely in imperfect creatures, but likewise in the most perfect. You shall obserue a strange imperfection, the wonder of reason, the astonishment of Philosophie; behold, behold, the cruell and bloodie Antipathie of creatures; this cannot proceed from elements, or any temper of contrary qualities; for the elements themselves, in their owne natie and proper qualities, are not so malignant and trecherous: the constitution of a body may soone bee altered and changed, but you

Imperfect mixt  
creatures.

The Antipa-  
thie of crea-  
tures.



shall neuer be able to separate the antipathie and hate : all creatures seeme to bee bred of the same mother earth, they feede on the earth, and are dissolued to the earth : whence is the breach of their loue ? how came they seuered, and disioyned in affections ? once they were lodged, and harboured in one common Arke, from the inundation of waters ; did they there strue for preeminencie, and fall to banding and factions ? seemes it not a great disparagement to the gouernement of nature, that whereas all creatures were ordained onely for mans vse, yet some of them should play the tyrants amongst themselves, and feed onely vpon blood ; and like common Pyrates and robbers, seaze vpon booties and preyes.

The Antipathie is not recompensed by a Sympathie.

Me thinkes I heare some punie Philosopher say, that this antipathie in nature, is recompensed by a contrary sympathie : if this were so, yet were it no sufficient excuse, considering that whole nature, and all the parts thereof tend, and are directed to one end ; and therefore should quietly, and patiently together, beare the same yoake, without any molestation or annoyance, of hornes, hooves, tuskes, or clawes : but I feare that this conceited sympathie, consists rather in mans apprehension, as being a supposed contrary qualitie to antipathie, without any true ground in nature or reason : this is my priuate opinion ; for I thinke that *sensu (naturalis affectus)* stands in opposition to antipathie ; or if there were any such sympathie, in regard of the mutuall helpe, which they receiue from each other, yet this argues their owne proper weakenesse and imperfection, and certainly it is not so fierce, and so violent, as is the current and streame of antipathie. Lord how are we fallen, how are we fallen, from the garden of Paradise, to ~~Paris~~ garden ? here you shall see the dogs hailing at Bulles, and at Beares ; or if you please, it shall be



be a stage, or Theater, where you shall see diuersitie of fashions, the changes and variety of fortunes, feares and ieaiousies in loue, and sometimes tragicall conclusions, all of them the vndoubted markes of corruption.

You will say that nature, (to preuent the dangerous issue of Antipathie,) hath remoued such creatures farre asunder; and being dreadfull to each other, the very feare serues for a caution. I pra'y let vs measure out, and runne over this distance; thinke not your labour lost, for I will leade you from sport, vnto sport; such cruell & mercilesse sport, as is from the Beare-Garden, to the Cocke-pit; see how these little imps of *Mars*, Cockes of the same kinde, of the same nature, how eager they are to be in the combate, how brauely and valiantly they fight, they will sooner die, then forsake the field: *Degeneres animos timor arguit*: when wee thinke they are almost breathlesse, and past life, they take onely a respite to recouer strength, and to reuenge their owne wrath, and sometimes vnawares, vpon advantage, they giue a deadly wound to their foe; if their strength & courage were imployed against the cōmon aduersarie the Kite, it were much more tolerable: but see what a dangerous thing it is for a war-like nation, to haue a long and continued peace within themselves; the inbred choler, and naturall lust, ingender pride, & breake into wrath; neither pride, nor wrath can endure equals, or competitors. As in the dumbe creatures, so likewise in man; O the immortall enmity of mortall men! how hardly can States-men be reconciled, who hauing once drawne out the sword, cast the sheath into the riuer? Shall I tell you the reason, God is charity and peace, set a breach betweene God and man, then farwell charity and peace; wee must onely expect continuall warre and dissention; as in man in

Enmity in the  
same kind.



An obiection  
answered.

regard of his passions, so likewise in the rest of the creatures, consisting of the same sensible nature with man: as in man in regard of his offence, so in the creatures, for mans punishment and vengeance, it stood with the diuine iustice to set his owne enemies at enmitie within themselves: and this serues as an vndoubted token and signe of corruption.

Hitherto (you will say) y I haue only insisted in generals, and this supposed corruption did only appeare in reference and relation to others: for true it is, that euery thing chiefly intends his owne proper happinesse and perfection: now as a meanes to obtaine this, it desires to ouertop others, that suppressing them, it might exalt it selfe, though I doe not approve this obiection; for nature should be a well gouerned corporation, consisting of many members and branches; euery part according to his owne kinde, should be ranked in his seuerall order, and euery one in particular should principally and chiefly intend the perfection and preservation of the whole, as appeares by daily experience: for the earth will ascend, or the heauens will bow downe and descend, rather then an emptinesse or vacuitie should bee admitted in nature: and therefore euery thing should containe it selfe within his own bounds, and not endamage his neighbours: yet for your further satisfaction and contentment, I will descend to particulars within themselves.

6

Monsters.

Are there not monsters in nature, either defectiue or superabounding in parts, or differing from the ordinarie kinde? The Philosophers (who fight most in natures defence to iustifie her actions) say indeede, that monsters doe much detract from the perfection of that particular nature, but not of nature in generall. A monstrous defence, I confesse, as if the generall did not im-  
out



out parts; or that there could be a different condition of the whole from the parts. But, I pray, how doe they excuse nature in generall? Forsooth, though deformitie appears in the error, yet the varietie serues for the ornament: then it should seeme, that the Sunne consisting only of light, for want of diuersitie should bee base and contemptible, while euery plant and weede of the fields were highly esteemed, for the various and delectable colours. It should seeme that nature can no way set forth her owne beautie, but she must bring vgly, deformed, mis-shapen monsters vpon the stage of this world, that so other creatures base in themselves, yet comparatiue, in respect of others deformitie, might seeme beautifull.

Monsters are rare, and seldom appeare to vs, though Affrica be a fruitfull mother of monsters, I will therefore come to the seuerall kindes in nature of the two sexes. Certainly the males are the more noble, as consisting of greater heate, and of a better constitution: but nature being more and more defectiue, brings forth the females in a farre greater number: whereas in the time of mans innocencie, in the state of perfection, the number should haue been equall.

Not to insist in the sexes, I will descend to their actions in the dumbe creatures. You shall hardly discern any tokens or signes of ioy, *solus homo est risibilis*; but for sorrow and grieffe, you shall finde very many and pregnant testimonies. There is in euery creature, *vox naturæ inclamantis dominum naturæ*, the voyce of nature calling vpon the God of nature: vpon any wrong or iniustice sustained, they seeme to complaine with their cries to the God and creator of nature. And obserue, how apt they are to complaine, in so much that the very breathing, *inspiratio & expiratio*, seemes to my eares to haue the sound and note of a groane.

Females are more in number.

The actions of the creatures betoken her sorrow.



Scripture doth likewise witnes as much in effect; the creatures being subiect to vanitie, groane vnder the burthen of sinne. Some creatures there are, which out of compassion and pitie seeme to bee true penitentiaries, as Doues, *quarum vox gemitunda est, & oculi lachrymabiles*, whose voyce is a groane, whose eyes are fountaines of teares. A worthie patterne for our example, *estote serpentes*, be wise as serpents to preuent the voyce of the Charmer: but if once insnared, *estote columbae*, then let the sighes of a contrite heart, the teares of a sorrowfull soule, together with the flood of Iordane, wash thy vncleannes, thy filth and leprosie of sinne.

The more perfect the creature is, the more apt for corruption.

If the actions as fruites, betoken corruption, then I will further proceed and search out the roote of this corruption, which I finde to be in nature her selfe: for euery thing containeth in it selfe the inbred seedes of corruption, and the more perfect the creature is, the more apt for corruption; as if corruption did belong to the perfection, in this corrupted state of the creature; or that nature were enuious, and would not afford the one without the other. The finest wooll soonest breedeth the moth; the most delicious fruite is aptest to perish; the fairest beautie hastens to wither; the strongest oake is most annoyed with the Iuie. Lest thou shouldest thinke, that outwardly the creatures were only annoyed, and that the roote were sound and entire, behold nature discovers her selfe, and shewes the impostume to haue first bred in that radical humour, which is the foundation of nature: for as it is in trees and in plants, if any one branch or leafe doe miscarrie, the roote is vnfound; so is it in the outward workes of nature, these being corrupted, doe vndoubtedly argue the corruption of nature.

But you will say, that all this doth onely argue a weakenes



Part. I.      The fall of Man.

25

weakenes or imperfection, but no punishment or corruption in nature: for it stood in the will of the founder, to make it more or lesse perfect, as are the severall parts in respect of themselves. Now suppose that all these imperfections were absent, and that God should ordaine nature, better by many degrees then now she is extant; yet still there should bee limitations and bounds of her goodnesse; and for want of a greater height of perfection, wee might still challenge her to be in the state of corruption. This obiection will faile, if the premises be duly considered; for my reasons are grounded vpon nature, supposing the state wherein she consists, and not in reference to any higher condition, wherein she might haue been, first ordained by God: and therefore for the vpsot and conclusion, I will vse this last reason.

Nature is able to bring nothing to perfection, I speake in her owne kinde, and in the state wherein she stands, and therefore acknowledge even in the same state her corruption and punishment: for at first it stood with the wisdom of the founder, according to the scope and marke aimed at, and intended in the creation, to impart vertue and strength to the creature; hauing directed nature to these ends, she should of her owne selfe attaine to those ends. But see the corruption, see how she failes in her purposes: Man, without education, is like the dumbe beast, sauage and wilde: the dumbe beasts of themselves are meere vnpromitable; the horse must be taught to hold vp his head, to learne his pace, and must bee trained vp for the seruice of warre; the trees want lopping, pruning, & grafting; the sweete and the bitter Almond doe not differ in kinde, but onely in husbandrie and vsage; plants must be watered and digged; the earth mellowed and mended; mettals purified and clenched: and by whom shall  
all

An obiection  
answered.

7 *ultima Ratio*

Nature brings  
nothing to  
perfection.



all this bee performed? if by a superiour agent, then might it be done without disparagement; but if a base and inferiour should vndertake to controule and correct nature in her actions, this were a high contempt and indignity. Here are not second causes, which require the concurrence and influence of their first mouers, but nature is to bee taught and instructed by her hand-maid, to receiue her last and finall perfection from her vassall and slaue, that ill-fauoured ape, mistrisse Arte, forsooth, the learned gossip, which doth all things by imitation, taking her grounds and principles of action from nature; she must be sent for as a mid-wife to help the deliuerie: and hence issues such numbers and troupes of Artes, together with such infinite inuentions of men; and among others, the Chemicall Arte, though it deserues high commendation, being rare and wonderfull in her operations, yet with her vaine-glory and ostentation, shee hath greatly wronged and prouock't nature, in so much that if nature were not wholly cast downe and dejected, rather then she would endure the intolerable boasting and bragging of Mountebankes, shee would attempt the vttermost of her power.

### *Recapitulatio*

The summe of  
all the former  
reasons.

To conclude this one poynt, considering, first, that nature so much aboundeth in euill; secondly, and is so much enclined vnto euill; thirdly, considering how the heauens stand affected to the earth; fourthly, how elements amongst themselves; fifthly, how mixt creatures one to another; sixthly, and in themselves what defects and imperfections there are; seuenthly, how Art serues like a cobbler, or tinker, to peece vp the walles, and to repaire the ruines of nature: I hope it wil sufficiently appeare that she is corrupted, and much declined from her first perfection, which certainly was intended by the founder, and by all probable conie-

ecture



ature was imparted to her, in her first institution. I could bee infinite in this point, but indeed it is not so pertinent, nor doth it so nearely concerne my text; I haue already alleaged seauen arguments to this purpose; seauen is a perfect number; as I challenge a rest on the seauenth day, so heere I will rest in my seauenth argument.

Now in this great vprore and tumult of nature, when heauen and earth seeme to threaten a finall destruction; giue me leaue with the Marriners of *Ionas* ship, to cast lots, and search out the first occasion of this euill. Alas, alas, the lot falles vpon man: man alone of all other creatures, in regard of the freedome of his will, and the choyce of his owne actions, being onely capable of the transgression, the rest of the creatures are wholly excluded from the offence; the punishment (I confesse) appeares in them, but chiefly and principally in man: I will therefore descend from the great world, to this little world, which first set on fire, and inflamed the whole; for I should greatly wrong my selfe, if I should loose so much time, as to take a generall suruey of nature, to wander in the desarts and caues of the creatures, to search out their imperfections; I will therefore tie my selfe to man, and by man alone the fall & corruption shall manifestly appeare. My proofes and arguments I will dispose into three seuerall ranks: first, for such things which seeme to bee proper and peculiar to man, in regard of his constitution, whereof all nature cannot furnish vs with the like example and president; and therefore wee may well suppose, that they are the peculiar punishments of mans sinne. Secondly, I will speake of mans condition in generall, and compare man with the beast of the field; whereby it shall appeare, that our misery is far greater then theirs, contrary to the first intent and institution of nature, wherein

A transition  
to man.

The three  
parts of this  
Treatise.

1. proprietas  
2. conditio  
3. pena

hominis



That man is  
compounded.

Man consists;  
of a body and  
soule.

Corps quid

Anima qd

wherein she gaue vs a greater dignitie, and so consequently should impart a greater measure of happinesse. Thirdly, I will insist in those particular punishments of sinne, which are related in Scripture to bee the punishments of the first sinne; wherein I will shew the truth, the certainty, and I will examine them by the touchstone and light of our naturall reason.

Speaking of mans constitution, it must be supposed, that he consists of seuerall and different parts, which appears by his composition, and dissolution; the seuerall faculties resident in seuerall vessels; the seuerall senses tied to their seuerall organs; whereas if his nature were simple, and not compounded, it should admit no such variety of parts, no such diuersity of functions; but shall haue a state constant and stable, homogeneall, euery way like vnto it selfe. If then man be compounded, then assuredly nature requires the fewest principles; as there appears onely action or passion in man, so more is not required in man, saue onely the two seuerall fountaines of action, or passion; then let me spare my selfe a needlesse and vnprofitable labour, for the whole world did euer acknowledge in man, as in all other creatures, matter, and forme. I will therefore lay downe this as a ground-woke or supposition, that man consists of two parts; a body sensible, materiall, corruptible; and a soule intelligent, spirituall, and incorruptible: for his body, I will referre him to the triall of all your senses, that hee is no shadow, or phantasie, but really consisting of a true body, and such a body as tends to corruption: if any man doubt of it, I could wish that his passport were made, that with the whip and the scourge, he might bee conueyed to Golgotha, where he should finde sculles of all sizes.

For his soule, that it is intelligent, not guided, or carried by the streame of nature, as a dumb beast, but able



to discourse, to gather one truth from another, containing in it selfe the seedes of all knowledge. If any man seeme to denie this, I will not argue or conuince him by reason, for hee is not capable of a reasonable discourse; but (for his punishment) I will ranke him in the number of vnreasonable creatures, among the bruit beasts, &c. Now if this soule bee intelligent, then certainly spirituall, as not consisting of any earthly matter, which well appeares by the quicke apprehension, the strange and admirable operations, conceiuing things immateriall, able to abstract things from their owne nature, vnderstanding the grosse and earthly substance in a spirituall manner; and howsoeuer the inclination of the flesh, or the disposition of humours stand, (for these may moue and affect) yet still shee retaines the Lordship, and gouernment of her owne actions, not violently carried by an instinct of nature, but hauing a free-will in her owne choyce and election, which vndoubtedly argues a higher descent, a greater pedigree and linage then these base elements can afford her, or can proceed from a well tempered body.

That there should bee spirituall substances in generall, let vs first flie aboue the conuexitie of the heauens, where elements, and elementarie bodies cannot ascend. Can you conceiue, that there should bee a vast wilderness, vnhabited, vnpeopled, lie naked and empty, or rather furnish't with heauenly and spirituall substances, according to the condition of that place, as is this elementarie world, with bodies grosse and terrestrial? the Philosophers shewing the worlds perfection by the diuersitie of creatures; some materiall, some spirituall, &c. as likewise by the various and strange motion of the heauens, which being simple bodies, should haue one simple motion; and yet their motion being not simple, not for the preservation of themselves,

The soule is  
a spirit.

Spirituall substances.



The Angels  
are Intelligen-  
ces.

selues, and that in their owne proper places, where e-  
uery other creature hath rest, peace, and contentment,  
doe hence vndoubtedly conclude, that the heauens  
are moued by intelligences, and in token hereof, there  
are influences, qualities not materiall, the operation  
whereof cannot bee preuented by application of any  
other elementarie or contrary qualitie: and such is  
the force of these influences, as that the Moone being  
the weakest of all other planets in power, yet is able  
to moue the huge Ocean, without any corporall en-  
gine or instrument. And surely the heauens can bee  
no otherwise moued then by intelligences, which in  
effect are Angels: for in nature, no reason can bee as-  
signed why they should moue, not mouing for them-  
selues, but for others, and therefore are moued by o-  
thers: or looking to them and to their outward forme,  
no reason can be assigned, why they might not as well  
moue from the West to the East, as from the East to  
the West; and the motion it selfe is so strange and so  
wonderfull, that the minde of man being an intelli-  
gent spirit, notwithstanding our studies, our circles,  
excentric, concentric, epicycle, and the like, yet wee  
cannot possibly describe the motion, and trace out  
their paths, but we must be inforced to vse impossible  
suppositiōs, that the earth should turne vpon wheelles,  
and moue with her owne weight, or that there should  
be penetration of bodies, which is a farre greater ab-  
surditie: and therefore this strange and wonderfull  
motion must needs be effected by some intelligent spi-  
rits. Thus the schoole of the Heathen did acknowledge  
as much in effect, concerning the truth and certaintie  
of Angels, as our Christian faith doth oblige vs for our  
beleefe.

Let vs descend from heauen vnto earth: Consider  
how the elements themselues doe exceede each other,  
in



in fineneſſe and rarietie, and therein come neerer and neerer the nature of ſpirits; inſomuch that the fire and the aire are ſcarſe ſenſible, the ſight not apprehending them. Are there not motes, which cannot be diſcerned but in the Sunne-beames? and in euery dumbe creature, is not the forme ſpirituall, as being the more noble part of the creature, though hidden and concealed, hauing both wombe and tombe in the matter, and therefore being impotent of her ſelfe, wants a naturall inſtinct for her guide and direction? If this forme were not ſpirituall, then what penetration of bodies ſhould be admitted? how ſlowly ſhould the actions proceed, conſidering little wormes, which in themſelues and in their whole bodies are ſcarſe ſenſible? What ſhould we thinke of their forme, they haue varietie of ſenſes, of motions, they haue varietie of parts, of members, of limbes, and of ioynts? or why ſhould all qualitie be immateriall, were it not becauſe they proceed from the forme which is immateriall; as on the contrary, quantity is therefore extended and ſeemes to be groſſe and terreſtriall, becauſe it proceeds from the matter, and is applied for dimenſions: but of all qualities, it doth more manifeſtly appeare in the objects of our ſight, as colour and light, which are diffuſed in a moment, thorough the compaſſe of the whole world, and finde no oppoſition in their paſſage. Thus certainly the formes of things are ſubſtances immateriall: but moſt eſpecially for mans ſoule which is reaſonable, were it not freed and exempted from any elementarie compoſition, it could neuer iudge aright of all bodies; but according to her temperature, thereafter ſhould follow her denſure, thereafter her appetite and inclination, ſo that the freedom of mans will ſhould ſuffer violence. If then you will ſuppoſe in man, a true iudgement of things, and a free libertie in his choice, you muſt conceiue the ſoule

All formes are  
ſpirituall.

All Quality is  
immateriall but  
All Quantity is  
materiall quia  
Quality is ſpirituall  
Quantity is corporall

ad in Magna  
9. Anima non in  
nature.  
vide pag 439.

Heat  
Cold & Active  
Drynes & Paſſive  
moſt

fe  
ath} is in {heat} Spirituall & immateriall Quality } is in {Ayre & fyr  
{cold} Corporall & materiall Quantity } {Earth: wat



The immorta-  
lité of the  
soule.

soule as a spirit, which is the ground and foundation of both, whereby hauing onely the diuine concurrence and assistance, she is not carried with any naturall instinct, as a dumbe instrument, but is the roote and fountaine, as of her faculties, so of her actions.

If this soule bee spirituall, then certainly immortall, as being exempted & freed from the opposition and contrarietie of elementarie qualities, which is the only motiue and inducement to corruption: she comprehends and vnderstands things immortall, some of them being bare and dumbe instruments ordained only for her vse and seruice, suppose the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres: and therefore wee cannot thinke, that she should be of lesse perfection, as touching her time and continuance. The desires of the soule are infinite, shee intends nothing so much as eternitie: this is naturally ingrafted in all of vs, and nature cannot faile in her ends. Consider the maine infusions, which euery man findes in himselfe: sometimes his minde, either in dreames, or in the strong apprehension of his owne thoughts, seemes to preface euill, and this euill vndoubtedly followes. Seldome or neuer doe any great accidents befall vs, but the minde seemes to prophetic and foretell such euent. Consider againe the many visions and apparitions, which from age to age haue bin discovered among the dead, whereof the best authors, the most learned and iudicious make mention. For as I cannot excuse all superstition in this kinde; so absolutely and simply to denie this truth, were heathenisme and infidelitie.

The course and order of the whole vniuerse requires as much in effect: For as the power of God hath already appeared in the creation; his wisdom in the disposing; his prouidence in the preserving of nature, and so for the rest of his attributes, &c. so there must be a  
time

*Conjura Legendaru*



time when the iustice of God shall reueale it selfe: which iustice, as it is most commendable in man, so is it much more eminent in God. This iustice, in respect of the whole world, must onely bee exercised vpon man: for all the rest of the creatures are carried with the violence and streame of their nature; only man hath a discursive reason, whereby he may consult of his owne actions; and being once resolved, he hath a free will for his owne choice and election, and therefore man (aboue all other creatures) must be accomptable for his actions. And to this end, God hath giuen him this propertie, that hauing once performed a worke, he begins to reflect and examine things past; that so it might serue either as a sampler for amendment, or as a corosive for repentance. Vpon this due examination there followes either such a ioy and contentment, as cannot arise from a sensitiue part, nor cannot bee imparted to a dumbe beast: or else such a terror, such a feare, such a sting of conscience, as makes man, aboue all other creatures, the most miserable. Now I confesse with the heathen, that in the course of this life, Gods iustice doth not sufficiently appeare: and rather then this iustice should suffer the least eclipse or imputation, I will shake the foundations of the earth, and proclaime a new heauen, and a new earth. And in the meane time, to finde out the infallible effects of this iustice, I will rake vp the ashes, and in the dead embers of mans putrified and corrupted carcase, I will extract an inuisible and immortall soule; which being the suruiuer, shall be liable to the paiments of debts; and according to the sins or deserts, according to the measure and extent of Gods mercie or iustice, shall be a subiect capable of punishment or glorie.

Hauing spoken of the seuerall parts of his constitution, now at length wee haue agreed vpon man, wee  
D haue

Gods iustice  
doth inferre  
the immorta-  
litie of the  
soule.



That one part  
of man should  
be corrupti-  
ble, the other  
incorruptible.

haue laid hold on him, and apprehended the partie: now let vs proceed in our plea, put in our bills and our articles, and take our exceptions against him. My first obiection is this: All other creatures subsist, as long as their forme subsists; for the matter and the forme are both twinnes, conceived in the same instant, vnder the same constellation, and therefore should haue the like continuance of being, and the like successe in their actions. Only in man you shall obserue the difference; his soule is immortall, made of a most durable mettall, and yet contained within the brittle vessell of his weak flesh; as if she were no part of man, but did inhabit in Tents, and in Tabernacles in the wilderness, alwaies remouing and changing her dwelling, hauing no certaine mansion house to containe her.

What things are coupled in nature, should necessarily symbolize, and bee tied together by some band, which should equally partake of both. Here is the flesh and the spirit vnited; but where is that band, which being neither flesh nor spirit, should partake of both, and couple both; where is the league or the amitie? Here are no intelligencers assigned to their celestially orbs, no Angels conuersing with Angels; but the flesh with the spirit, corruptible with incorruptible, mortall with immortall, liue together vnder one rooffe, they are the household seruants of one man, and are linckt together in one person: whereas the Philosopher saith, *Corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt plusquam genere*: Things corruptible and incorruptible, they do not differ in number, they doe not differ in kinde; but they seeme to belong to a diuers and a different world, the world of eternitie, and the world of corruption: and therefore in reason should not admit any fellowship or societie betweene themselves, much lesse be the members of one and the same corporation.



Me thinkes I call to minde the practise of the tyrant, who was wont to couple the living bodies of men, to the dead carkasses of others, *impar coniugium*, that, being not able to quicken and reuiue each other, they might together corrupt and consume. Here is the like tyrannie: for it is strange and wonderfull (much against the ordinarie course of nature) either how such seuerall and different parts should be linckt together, to make vp one subiect, visible, corruptible, earthly, according to the flesh; inuisible, incorruptible, heavenly, according to the spirit: or being once knit together, and a league of amitie, consisting in a mutual sympathie betweene both, concluded, what should at length cause the dissolution?

That man should die, when the better part of man is yet extant; that for want of the more ignoble and base part (the vse of the bodie) the soule should not be able to exercise her faculties, either of growth and nourishment, or of sense and motion; but like a comfortlesse widow should be strictly tied to her thirds, only the intellectuall part, being her owne proper dowrie, hauing gotten no surplusage to her estate, by vertue of her marriage. When the husband is once dead, then is the wife let at libertie, from the law of her husband; but the soule is excluded from any second marriage, and cannot couple herselfe to another; she is inforced to a widowhood, and cannot obtaine the like fredome in her choice, which formerly she had in the time of her virginittie. All nature, the whole world cannot afford the like president: and therefore acknowledge, that it proceedes from the corruption of man, as a proper and peculiar punishment to man.

You will say, that this property makes the difference of his nature, as differing from all other creatures; from the Angels in regard of his flesh; from the beasts in re-



The base in-  
tertainment of  
the reasonable  
soule.

gard of his spirit: and therefore no maruile, if this be proper and peculiar to himselfe, as being the speciall difference of man, and not any punishment of sinne. This obiection proceedes from an error; for the difference of man consists in the reasonable soule, and not in the mortalitie or immortalitie of parts: so I will proceede to a seconde argument.

If it seemes some kinde of disparagement, that the immortall soule should bee contracted in mariage to the mortall flesh (for mariage should alwaies suppose an equalitie); then methinks nature should make some recompence in the noblenesse of mans birth. Behold then I will describe the solemnitie of these nuptials; after her first approach and infusion, for many moneths the soule is kept prisoner in the wombe, a place noysome for sent, vncleane for situation, a dungeon for darknesse. As man himselfe is conceived in sinne; so is the soule concealed in shame: the eyes will not dare to behold; chaste eares would bee offended to heare; let not any tongue presume to speake, the vncleannesse of mans birth; see how he crouches with his head on his knees like a tumbler, wallowing in his owne excrements, feeding vpon the impurest blood, breathing thorough the most vncleane passages; in so much that Christ, who came to be spit vpon, to bee whipt, to bee troden, to bee crucified onely for mans sake, yet would neuer endure the basenesse of his conception. I speake not of the foulnesse of mans sinne and concupiscence; but of his naturall vncleannesse, being the vndoubted token and signe of his sinfull condition. I will no longer defile my speech with this subiect, let the Anatomist speake for himselfe in his owne art: *En qui superbis homuncio, terra & cinis, inter excrementa natus, inter intestinum rectum & vesicam.*

Now when all things are fully accomplished, ad  
umbili-



*umbilicum usque perductus*, I had thought that there should haue been some more conuenient dwelling, and fitter for the entertainment of the reasonable soule: for as the sensatiue hath more noble faculties then the vegetatiue; so hath it more parts and more offices assigned for her seruice; then why should not some difference, and some addition bee made betweene reason and sense? Man consists of a liuer for his nourishment, of an heart for his vitall spirits, of a braine for his sense: this is all, and all the beasts of the field haue as much. But you wil answere me, that man hath (in this time of corruptiō) as many parts, as euer the first man is supposed to haue, or to bring with him from Paradise, in the state of perfection. My answere is, that the grace, which in the time of mans innocencie did accompanie nature, supplied all the defects, and was sufficient of it selfe: but man being depriued of that grace, might iustly claime and challenge (according to the excellencie of his own condition) something in nature, some superabounding parts in his bodie, to betoken the dignitie of his reasonable soule, aboue the state of the sensatiue.

You will say, that her prerogatiue consists not in the number, but in the goodnesse and qualitie of parts: Princes may finde entertainment in private mens houses, but their state shall appeare in their owne hangings and furniture. Certainly man comes short of other creatures for euery sense; the Eagle for sight, the Hounds for their sent, the Buck for his hearing, the Ape for his taste, the Wormes for their touch: and for the inward senses, which are the proper and neereft instruments of the vnderstanding, he that shall well consider the strange and wonderfull operation of the creatures in their owne kinde, how curious the birds are in building their nests; how prouident euery thing is, for the preservation of it selfe; how admirable the beasts are in their

That mā should haue no more parts then the dumbe beasts.

Mans senses are worse then the creatures.



their naturall workes; the knowledge whereof, whereby they are directed in these actions, consists in the phansie; hee will easily confesse, that in their inward senses, they cannot but farre exceede man. If you replie, that mans temper and senses, though otherwise none of the best, yet are best applied and accommodated for mans seruice and vse, as they are the dumbe instruments of a reasonable soule. This is a fond & an idle suggestion: for who can know or trie the contrarie? but surely the best should alwaies be fitted for the best, and this stands with a right and equall proportion according to iustice.

3

Suppose there were such disparitie in the state and condition of both, and that the dull flesh could not giue any sufficient entertainment to so royall a spouse; yet the weake abilitie and power would be accepted, if the flesh did performe what it might. For if an honorable Ladie should intend to match with her seruant; the greatest motiue and inducement would be, that in stead of a husband, hee would be her slaue, she should haue the rule and sole gouernment, and all his care should be to giue her contentment: a very forcible argument, I confesse. Now let vs examine how well the flesh hath performed this dutie and seruice.

The opposition  
betweene the  
flesh and the  
spirit.

Behold in the parts of man a great opposition, and antipathie, between the flesh and the spirit (as it were) encountring each other. Can a kingdome divided in it selfe proceed from nature, which intends an vniforme order and course in the creatures? I grant there may be contrarietie of qualities in one and the same subiect, consisting of contrarie elements, for here the subiect is capable of contrarietie: but in parts of different nature, of different condition, where the one by nature is subordinate to the other; that there should be such opposition, it is *exemplum sine exemplo*, the whole fabrick and



and course of nature cannot parallel this with a president; that man should reflect vpon his owne actions, should suruay, and view his owne workes, and that his owne soule should discerne and condemne the inclination and practise of his owne flesh; that man distracted and discontented, should say in the agonie of his minde, *I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my spirit*: Doubtlesse, *non sic fuit ab initio*, both of them proceede from one God, both of them are parts of one man, and therefore (as fellow yokemen) should tend ioyntly together, to one and the same end, the happinesse and perfection of man: as in nature there is no contrarietie betweene the matter & forme, the one is actiue, the other passiue; the one apt to giue, the other apt to receiue impressiō; the one giuing beautie and splendor, the other supporting and vpholding the action. There is no difference betweene thē, no more then there is between quantitie and qualitie, rather helping and furthering, then any way hindring or opposing each others propertie; only in man, in man alone consists the difference. And therefore acknowledge it not as the first intent and institution of nature, but as a punishmēt of sin; God, requiting mans disobedience, to shew the high wisdom of his gouernment, & the proportion of his iustice, sets the parts of man at enmitie with themselves, which before did together conspire against their God and creator.

You will say, that this is but a light skirmish; some little disagreeing hinders not the loue, but rather inflames the affection; all this enmitie proceedes from one ground, that the parts, being of a different kinde, must likewise be carried with a different inclination. I will therefore further insist, that in man there is not that consent, and harmonie of parts, which is requisite for the vnitie of a person: sometimes the soule proues

Male is Actiue  
female Passiue

4

No manner of  
subordination.



Mores sequitur <sup>res</sup> humores

The reasonable soule not intermeddling in the concoctions.

the mint of our actions, and brands them with her own stampe; and sometimes the bodie ouerrules the freedom of our wils, and beares the whole sway; *mores sequuntur humores*, Physiognomie and iudiciall Astrologie, take this for the ground and foundation of their truth. Is it not yet resolved who should beare rule? or must it consist of alterations, changes and turnes? or doe they seeke to preuent each other? *Capiat qui capere potest, quod nullius est hominis, id iure sit occupantis*; as if they did both strue for the empire, which as yet were not intailed to any certaine familie or tribe.

But obserue a farre greater enormitie: whereas the reasonable soule containes in it selfe the sensatiue and vegetatiue faculties; why should she not correct their errors, mistakings, and defects? why should not the reasonable soule intermeddle with the concoctions, nourishment and growth of the bodie? If any thing lies heauie on the stomacke, as she knowes the disease, and feeles the burthen; so why should not the reasonable soule haue power to remoue it? Seemes it not a great disorder in nature, that in the bodie of man there should bee two subordinate soules; and both of them should haue their seuerall and distinct operations, as if they should rather constitute two seuerall creatures, then ioyntly concurre to the vnitie of one person; the sensatiue soule intending the workes of nature, the reasonable soule taking only charge of such things, as require free choice and election: could not all things be more easily performed by one and the same faculty, as in al other creatures? Then should there be no greater difficultie to cleanse the vncleane blood, to purge the grosse melancholie, then now we finde in taking away some spot or blemish from the outward skinn; then should not the secret causes of sudden death (as it were priuie conspiracies) suddenly assault and attempt man,



man, but man in his owne wisedome should timely foresee, and preuent them.

Wherefore serue fibres, muscles or tendons for receiuing, retaining, or expulsion of foode, if the soule hath no power to apply them? The perfectiō of nature (especially) consists within her most secret pauilions: shall the soule bee able to moue the thigh, the legge, the arme, the whole body? and yet the least scruple of poyson lying in the ventricle, shall she not be able to disgorge and expell it? In other creatures (I confesse) there is an ordinarie course of nature, as in all their actions an ordinary instinct of nature: they haue a time of rising, a period and time, of setting; they can no more order their steps, or their waies, then they can change their cōplectiō or growth. But it should be otherwise in man, who as he is Lord of his outward actions; so he should haue the full power and command of himselfe, and of the most inward and secret operations of his own body: for the same reason would sufficiently serue to direct both alike. But see, see, whole man is corrupted, and therefore neither body with soule, nor soule with her faculties can together consist; all is in an vpror, since wee forsooke him, who is the very bond of all peace, and agreement.

If neither opposition betweene both, nor want of subiection and right gouernment seemes strange, then I will tell you a greater wonder. The soule and the body, though parts of one man, and mutually subsisting together; yet are they strangers one to another, not any way acquainted with the counsels and secreties of each other. Whatsoeuer is proper and peculiar to the soule (for her faculties, her nature, and powers) she doth not any way impart it to the whole man, but only by way of reflection: looking vpon the actions wee iudge of the substance; and so wee might doe if wee liued

How the inward parts are disposed.

5

The soule and the bodie are strangers to each other.



ued among strangers and heathen, though certainly the soule cannot be ignorant of her self. Againe, whatsoever is proper to the body, as forme, figure, the vse and disposition of the inward parts, notwithstanding that the soule first squared out the body, and fashioned the members for her owne vse and seruice, *anima fabricatur sibi domicilium*; yet she knowes them not, and therefore must learne them againe by inspection, and dissection of mans body: a cruell, bloody, and mercilesse spectacle, I confesse; yet such as must be admitted in schooles, rather then wee should be ignorant of our owne bodies. Thus farre as the soule and the body are the objects of our knowledge: now in their owne operations, see how they are estranged from each other.

An extasis.

Parts as they cannot subsist without the whole, so neither should they bee able to worke of themselves; but in man you shall obserue actions, which are appropriated to either part, to the soule and to the body, and cannot be imparted to both. Though the present condition of man bee earthly, made of the earth, feeds on the earth, and is dissolued to the earth, and therefore the soule doth lesse discouer her selfe by her proper actions, then doth the materiall body; yet it is not vnknowne to Philosophie, that there is an extasis of the soule, wherein she is carried in a trance, wholly and only intending the intellectuall functions, while the body lies dead like a carkasse, without breath, sense, motion, or nourishment, onely as a pledge to assure vs of the soules returne. And vpon her returne, hauing talked with God, or been transfigured in the mount, shee giues the body no such intelligence or message, but deemes it as a dumbe beast, not fit to bee acquainted with so high mysteries; so that the whole man is ignorant, what hath befallne the better part of himselfe.

Now see how the body requites this vnkindnesse  
and



and discurtisie. It is naturall to euery forme, that if it be extant, it should bee alwaies in action; especially the more noble forme finds the greater imployment: but obserue the difference in man; for many yeeres after his birth, he is like an vreasonable creature, feedes on the pappe, and lies in the cradle, intending only the actions of nature, and giuing no outward appearance of his reasonable soule; in so much, that were it not for the feature and forme of his body, you should hardly discerne his kinde: whereas in all other creatures you shall instantly discerne, in the first moment of their birth, actions proper and peculiar to their state and condition.

But I will passe ouer our infancie, we haue forgotten those daies, being now arriued to our full age: I will therefore make a second instance; once within the compasse of a naturall day, in the time of our rest and our sleepe, where is there any appearance of a reasonable soule? There is nourishment (I confesse); for nature will haue her course in the seuerall concoctions: there is sense (I confesse); for the body being easily toucht, presently it awakens: there is likewise an inward sense, as appears by our dreames, and the renewing of our decayed spirits: but for the reasonable soule; there is a sleepe indeede, a dead sleepe, even the true image of death, without any shew or appearance of life.

Lest I should be thought a theefe or a coward, thus to steale vpon man, in the time of his sleepe, to stop his winde, to strangle and choke him in his naked bed, that he should not be able to speake for himselfe, and to denie his owne corruption: I will therefore goe from his naked bed to Bedlam, where you shall finde men naked out of their beds; poore sillie wretches, poore sillie wretches, some of them with outragious firs arising from heate and from choler: others with melancholie deepe

Our infancie.

Sleepe.

Mad men.



deepe impressions, frame vnto themselves fancies of all kindes: some with night watchings and studies, hastening to bee wise, lost their owne wits: others in their loue-passions imparted themselves, and now rest, in their rage and their furie, besides themselves: how are they tormented, tied to the flakes, whipt with cords, dieted with hunger, tempered with coldnes? The irons enter into their flesh, they are vsed in the nature of wild beasts; but their greatest miserie is, that they haue no feeling of their owne miserie. Thinke not this punishment to be casuall and accidentall to man, for these are Lunatickes; the heauens haue their actions, and God hath his prouidence in them: see how the rebellious flesh hath cleane vanquisht the spirit: O what is man, if man be left vnto himselfe! *Of all thy temporall blessings and graces, O Lord, I doe giue thee most humble thanks for the right vse of my wits and my senses.*

Ideots.

I dare not long conuerse with mad men, I confesse indeed that once they were sober, and gaue some token of a reasonable soule: I will now come vnto them, who are of a milder constitution, with whom I may more freely conuerse, and to whom I may approach with lesse feare; for these are innocents and ideots, let vs heare how wisely they will answere for themselves? But I will spare them that labour, for if you can teach them to aske meate in their hunger, drinke in their thirst, to complain of coldnesse when it pincheth them, here is the height and top of their learning; as yet they are not arriued to common sense; yet commonly they are men of sound bodies, sanguine complexions, good health, long life, nothing is wanting, but onely that in man, you shall not finde man. A president without patterne, a punishment onely proper and peculiar to man; no other sensible creature, either in his birth, or his sleepe, or in his madnesse, much lesse in the whole course



course of his life, did euer appeare without sense: who euer saw a quick plant without sappe in the roote? But in token, that the first sinne of man was the curiositie of knowledge, (for the penaltie of this sinne) God hath reserued in his owne power, the free disposing of mans reason; that notwithstanding his reasonable soule, his education, learning, or discipline; yet God hath not tied himselfe to concurre with man in the action; a benefit, which being in the same kinde, and seeming naturall and essentiall to the same kinde, God neuer denies to the rest of his creatures.

I will now alter and change my course: for hauing spoken in generall of the nature of the soule, and of some particular persons, and states of men, vpon particular occasions; I will now speake in generall of whole mankinde, and of the particular actions both of the soule, & of the body. The soule, though reasonable; yet in her selfe, as from her selfe, seemes to haue no vnderstanding; she hath no infusions, as the Angels haue; no ingrafted knowledge, as other creatures haue in their owne kinde, but only a power and capacitie to vnderstand. In the vse and exercise whereof, sometimes the minde is distracted with varietie of her own thoughts, and cannot intend to direct the edge of her vnderstanding, but our wits are wandring and a woolgathering; here the soule is growne impotent and weak, and hath not the power of her selfe: and yet in the meane time, how is she perplexed and tormented with ignorance, possessed with an immoderate thirst of knowledge, with a curiositie of knowledge? And on the other side, what great difficultie and labour appeares in the purchase of wisdom? It is gotten by long experience, and the triall of many conclusions: all ages are not come to that staiednes, which is requisite for the attaining of wisdom. When it is gotten, when it is at the height,

The soule hath  
all her know-  
ledge by lear-  
ning.

*Anima  
potestas  
quid*



height, then our memorie begins to faile vs, wee know not how to keepe such a treasure: or else you shall discern a sensible change in our nature; for being old, we grow young againe, not in yeeres, but in affections; there is no difference betweene the toyes and fondnes of youth, and the forgetfulness and dotage of age, both are the same in effect: and here wisdom seems like a moth eaten garment, which hath been heretofore of some value, but now, for want of repairing or trimming, serues for no further vse or imployment.

The soule is  
hindred in her  
knowledge by  
the body.

And of this

good will

and of this

Thus farre the soule in her selfe. Now let vs see what comfort and furtherance she receiues from the body. Parts should haue the greatest reference to themselves, as wanting each others helpe, and supporting each other: so that it stood with the wisdom and intention of nature, in the beginning to fit and to square them one for the other; so that the body in reason should further the actions of the reasonable soule. But it fallies out otherwise, a full stomacke sends vp grosse fumes, which intoxicate the braine: the largest and best diet, can spare the least, and that the worst nourishment for the sensatiue spirits: the fattest soile yeelds the foggie wit; while the fruitlesse sands, the heath, the rocks, the mountaines, seeme to make some recompence for their barrenesse with a plentiful inuention. But so come to the immediate actions of the vnderstanding; what greater obstacle or hindrance can be, then is the burthen and weight of the body? our mindes distracted with senses, the senses not rightly informing; sometimes deluding with shewes, sometimes deceiuing with fancies; neuer apprehending things in their true value and proportion; and when they are best disposed, yet their bill of information must be further examined: for we doe not receiue the things themselves, but the *species* or images of things, which



which being presented to our vnderstanding, most commonly we iudge according to our passions. But what doe we receiue from the senses? surely sensible objects, and not intelligible objects; for the senses are enely imployed in particulars, which doe not belong to the court or cognizance of the vnderstanding, which onely conceaues the generals; as if the sense should speake in an vnknown tongue, or in a strange language. And therefore the vnderstanding must first eleuate and giue them a new tincture, before they can come to his censure, hence proceeds that distinction of schooles, *intellectus agens*, and *intellectus patiens*, whereas all sense consists in one passion.

You will say, that although the vnderstanding bee inforced to make his owne objects, yet is it donne with the greatest facilitie, and ease, a naturall action. For the soule out of her owne actiuitie, is able to abstract, her owne objects from the matter, and to giue them a like condition to her selfe; assuredly, all the difficulty in knowledge consists in raising these objects. Wherefore serue all the rules of Logicke? why should we strue so much for a right method? were it not that the difficulty consists in the discovery of the truth. The Lawyer deserves high commendation, if he can truly open his cause, though hee neuer passe his iudgement. From whence ariseth all the diuersities of mens opinions, when as reason is the same in all men? We doe not differ about colours, we do not differ about sensible objects: onely the difference is in the discovery of a truth, which in effect is as much as in raising these intelligible objects; for if the truth lay open and naked, all men would easily assent vnto it. We think it should stand with right reason, that as sense hath sensible objects; so things themselves should present themselves to the vnderstanding, that the minde should not busie her selfe,

*The Senses  
in Part  
vnderstanding  
conceaues the  
Generall*

*A teaching vnderstanding  
is active  
A conceauing vnderstanding  
is passive.*

The vnder-  
standing makes  
her owne ob-  
jects.

✠



to make her owne objects intelligible, but should onely passe her iudgement and censure. This is the condition of dumbe beasts in regard of their sense; this is the state of the Angels, in regard of their infusion; and this should haue bin the state and condition of man, were it not, that man is falne from the state of his first integrity, and happinesse, to a state of corruption.

7  
Our will is  
distracted.

From the vnderstanding let vs come to the will; strange it is to obserue the intestine warre, which man wageth with himselfe, possessed with contrary iudgements, insomuch that he proues a stranger to himselfe, not knowing the resolution of his owne minde. And thus breaking forth into contrary wils, not knowing how himselfe stands affected, sometimes hee will, sometimes he will not one and the same action; it being the selfe same, giuing no cause of the alteration and change of his will. Thus not guided by nature, as all other creatures are, hee stands like a blind man, and knowes not how to make choice of his own wayes.

How the  
boundlesse ap-  
petites of man  
do perplex  
him.

How vnfully hath nature disposed of mans will; it seemes that al other mans faculties are finite, contained within very narrow bankes. The wisdom of man is foolishnes, and serues onely to giue him occasion to see his owne ignorance, *hoc unum scio, me nihil scire*, this only I know, that I know nothing. The power of man is weaknesse, all his wealth seemes to be meere beggary; but the desires and appetites of man are infinite, and boundlesse. So that in his greatest abundance poore man is discontented, and much perplexed with his owne wants. What shall I say of man? where shall hee seeke contentment and rest? or whom shall I accuse? for man himselfe, I finde him thus ordained by nature. I will therefore make my complaint against nature, she is corrupted, and hauing no true contentment in her selfe, she will not confesse her owne basenesse, but de-  
fires



fires to conceale it, and to delude man. And to this end observe her subtiltie, she giues man an infinite desire, intimating that she hath an infinite treasure; but our desires are therefore infinite, because wee receive no contentment at all, and so still wanting, still we desire. For nature that first brought vs together, and made vs importunate suitors, to haue the creatures in a plentiful measure, hath on the other side, very cunningly set such a difference and disparity betweene both, that we shall neuer obtaine our request. As for example, man desires wealth by his labour and industrie; together with Gods blessing; wealth is purchased and gained, this wealth is laid vp in the purse, the chest, or the treasure-house very safely (I confesse) but not so fitly disposed; for the minde is still emptie, and therefore still may desire. If I were hungry, and that for my sake, you would fill another mans belly, I might pine with your charitie.

But in the meane time, nature will excuse her selfe: for who is the offerer? Either conuay your minde together with your treasure, and locke them vp both in your closset; or else lay vp the treasure in your minde, and so stay your appetite. This counsell will not serue, nature is to be blamed; for there is a disproportion betweene both: who euer saw a bushell filled vp with learning, or a pottle-pot stufte vp with wisdom? Things spirituall cannot replenish materiall vessels, neither can bodies penetrate and satisfie the desires of a spirit. Herein consists the corruption of nature, that she hath giuen or permitted the appetite, notwithstanding the disparitie; either she should forbear to desire, or else prouide plenty and store of such condition, as that she might be able to satisfie the request of her suitors, who now (for want of supplie) seeme to be meere cormorants.

The disparitie  
betweene the  
objects of the  
will, and the  
will it selfe.



apertier  
a lie: p:re  
Cicero  
quod participat Memor. in. in. i. grad. Imaginis.  
Sap. loq. big  
of look. desirg  
of p:re. bold  
lowly meek  
humble: good  
physick.  
mathematicz  
Astronomy.  
gouernmet.  
warfare.  
painting.  
writing.  
reading.  
enging.  
ugly  
magic.  
sleight  
coling  
prop  
tion  
z.c.  
figur.  
Harm  
bterice  
Festz  
Action  
gesture  
a good  
Voice

# The fall of Man. Part. 1.

It is not sufficient for nature to conspire against the soule in generall, and euery facultie in particular; but she doth further practise to set the seuerall faculties of the soule in opposition to themselves. A good wit neuer agrees with a good memorie, I speake not in regard of the multiplicite of inuentions, which thereby might seeme to ouerpresse the memorie, though commendable and good in her selfe, but it ariseth from the very constitution. A moist braine full of spirits is aptest for inuention; but the cold and drie temper longest retaines the impression. Good wits cannot agree among themselves, but fall to banding and factions; and the wittie professions seeme to oppose each other, the one desiring to make the other hateful and odious, and the other struiuing to make it poore, base, and contemptible. Sometimes you shall discern wit without discretion; and heere that inestimable treasure of wit, seemes to bee wholly vnprofitable, and vnseasonable, being committed to a fooles keeping; and here nature makes man a wittie foole, giuing him the substance of wit, but denying the right vse and application. Thus doe the faculties iarre among themselves; which in effect is as much, as if I should say, The soule did disagree with it selfe; for the faculties are the soule, and the soule is the faculties.

And as it is in our selues, so likewise in others. The wittie Poet will breake his iests on the Constable: but here is the mischiefe, his memorie will serue him to remember and to reuenge this iniurie and wrong. Againe, the same wits will not suffice for all studies; the superficial Rhetorician with his colours & Allegories, shall neuer fadome the grounds and depth of Philosophie. He that is naturally addicted to Mathematicall Engines and lines, shall neuer be able to comprehend; within the circles of his sphere, the notions and abstractions.

Wits are not the same in all studies.

Logick (wch is y<sup>e</sup> Rule of y<sup>e</sup> vnderstanding) Teacheth how to frame Reason with those Precepts & rulz how to define the Nature of thingz, Distinge deuide, conclude, argue, iudge, & chooze. &c.

Memory are Grammar of any language. y<sup>e</sup> Theorick of y<sup>e</sup> Lawz. Diuinity positive Cosmo-graphy. Arithmetick. Rhetor. Cicero are School Diuinity. y<sup>e</sup> Theorick of physick: logick. Naturall & Morall philosophy. y<sup>e</sup> practick of y<sup>e</sup> Lawz. Imagination are preaching poetry. Eloquence Musick practice of

Arts & Sciences belonging to

Imagin. causat  
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Heat & cold  
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frownding being a cold dry of libe doth  
Spring many vertues as Continency Humility temp  
Imagination is founded on the

W. L. B. D. S. 16  
y<sup>e</sup> tyrr. y<sup>e</sup> Hair blacke bald  
fleghe can rough & hairy. y<sup>e</sup> venizbra

mirabile dictu



otions of the Metaphysicks. Practicall arts can neuer be attained vnto by speculation, but must bee learned by experience. If learning be not fitted to thy capacite, suppose thy weake braine should be imployed in the Metaphysicks, it will make thee a learned foole, beyond thy selfe. And generally, the best naturall wits can hardliest endure any painfulness in studie, but expect to receiue all by infusion: and lest they should ouer boldly aduenture vpon learning, at the first entrance they are scared away, with words of art and with notions. If still they proceede, then much reading or plodding duls the vnderstanding; night-watchings and candle light, distemper the body, and dazle the minde. On the other side, the best wits are soonest abused and seduced, and most easily corrupted: the greatest iudgements take the deepest discontentments, &c.

Before I can descend, from the inuisible faculties of the soule, to the apparant actions of the body, I will first speake of the neighbourhood and societie betweene both, whether the perfections of bodie and minde were euer matched together in one person. You shall obserue then, that nature hath set a great difference betweene them: the fairest complection is seldome accompanied with the best wit; women may be proud of their beautie, but not of their wisdom. The best temper and constitution are not the fittest for the vnderstanding; the purest sanguine complection is apter for daliance and loue-toyes, then for night watchings and studies. The strongest and best compacted limbes and ioynts, doe argue more abilitie to be admitted of the Kings guard, then to bee sworne of his Counsel; as formerly you heard, that the same disposition would not suffice for the right vse and exercise of all the seuerall faculties. The clowne for his cariage, who cannot vse any ceremonies of curtesie, but will

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The gifts of  
minde and bo-  
dy can hardly  
together sub-  
sist.

De log. & Rhet. Arde  
pag. - 391.

ethorick (teacheth how to deliuer <sup>these</sup> <sup>E 2</sup> <sup>th</sup> <sup>disposition</sup> <sup>or order</sup>)  
by her precepts & Rulz doth beautify (& adorn) the speech with polished  
with fine phrases, & with stirring affectionz & gracious colourz.

very y Hair black & bald y  
fligh lean rough & hairy y  
affabl &c; but melle dnc cooled; 15  
contrary in d. vertue



sooner talke treason, then complement with his pale and darke skinne, with a cloude in his forehead, hollow eyes, churlish lookes, harsh language, hoggish gesture, frowning, fretting, and fuming. Here is the rare, the excellent, and the most angelicall vnderstanding, all nature cannot yeeld such a most incomparable iewel: sometimes a crooked backe, a limping thigh, squint eyes, lame legges, or some monstrous defeature doth accompanie the rare gifts of the minde. As if nature had repented her selfe, and to abate the insolencie of man, should clothe this rich iewel with some base attire, that being not so comely in their outward presence, they are enforced to conceale their owne inward worth: and if they be bold and aduenterous, then nature will giue vs a caution, *cave quos natura notauit*; and the infamie of their personage sildome procures loue, especially among the multitude.

But if this wise man proues neither hard fauoured, nor monstrous; yet fleame and melancholy, whereof his temper especially consists, what Rhumes, Catarres, and diseases doe they cause in his body? How do they breake out into issues and gowtes, and seeme to hasten old age? *Odi puerum precoci ingenio*; I hate a childe of a forward wit; either he is already come to his last temper, or else his climate must alter. What is it, or who is it, that thou canst loue in nature, on who thou might'st settle thy affection? If faire and beautifull to sight, Phisiognomie will tell thee that thou seest the whole man, thou canst expect no further vse or imployment of his seruice: if otherwise wise and deformed, how canst thou loue him, in whom nothing seemes worthy of thy loue? We may call thy iudgement in question; whereas in all other creatures, the comelines, beautie, and fit proportion of the outward limbes, signifies the good inward conditions.

Now

The deepe vnderstanding,  
hath not the  
soundest body.

As if Nature had  
infused Magick sha-  
dowes in a watry  
glaasse:

moisture seemed for  
imagination of shadowes  
seemeth for light  
and is light of



Now at length to speake of the actions of mans body, I will giue them the same entertainment, which formerly I did to the faculties of the soule: for as I am not malicious, so I will not be partiall. I doe heere accuse and challenge all the naturall actions of mans body, to be tainted and defiled with corruption, and in all of them the punishment of this corruption shall manifestly appeare. All punishments may be reduced to these three heads: 1. *Dedecus seu infamia*: 2. *Pœna seu castigatio*: 3. *Servitium seu captiuitas*. By the first, he suffers losse in his credit, good name and reputation, and is put to open shame and infamie. By the second, he suffers detriment and losse in his owne flesh, or in his owne substance and goods, being chastised according to law. By the third, he seemes to be imprisoned, and suffers losse in his freedom and libertie, being tied to serue as a slaue. These are the three generall heads, whereunto the exercise of iustice doth vsually extend it selfe: and to these three heads, I will reduce all the naturall actions of mans body.

For the infamie and shame: Whatsoever nature desires to be concealed, hidden, and dares not attempt it in the presence of others, certainly she will neuer stand to iustifie the action, but rather at first sight, will easily confesse her infamie and shame. Take the most naturall workes of man, and you shall obserue, that man is most ashamed of them, as eating, drinking, sleeping, yawning, &c. I will not speake of the most vncleane and secret parts, some things may bee conceiued, which may not be spoken. Who euer held it any part of his commendation to bee a great eater, or to sleepe while his bones ake? Who euer went out into the open streete, or to the market place, to take a meales meate; but rather would provide a close cabinet, for such necessarie imployments of nature? Is nature ashamed of her most

A transition to  
the actions of  
mans body.

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The most naturall  
actions  
are shamefull.



Not religion  
but nature  
makes them  
shamefull.

naturall actions? then certainly it betokens a guiltinesse.

But you will ascribe it to the strict and austere profession of Christianitie, which seeming ouer proud and haughtie for mans present estate, disdaines to inhabite the earth, lookes vp to heauen, and therefore brandeth these actions with shame and contempt. True indeed, of all the sects in the world, Christian religion hath alwaies been most famous and eminent for strictnesse of life, and mortification of flesh; which in my conscience, as it hath formerly giuen the greatest growth to religion; so the neglect and decay thereof, in these our daies, will be the greatest blow to religion. But herein I will excuse our selues: for not the Christian alone, but the Turke and the Heathen, both say and practise as much in effect. You will then say, that religion in generall, agrees in this one point, as teaching all men a maidenlike modestie, to forbear the outrageous lusts of the flesh, and therein sets the difference betweene man and beast, and thus a long continued custome, may at length seeme to bee nature. I cannot rest in this answer, but I must fasten this shame immediatly vpon nature her selfe. Obserue then not onely in man, but likewise in the dumbe creatures: Are not those parts which serue for excrement, or generation, concealed and hidden either in place and situation, or else with feathers, with haire, or some other couering, which nature hath provided for that purpose; in so much that you shall hardly discern their sexe? Hath she not appointed the shade, the groue, and the close night to couer and hide them? she is ashamed of them, they are vncleane to the sight; but most absurd in the speech, and both taught vs by a naturall instinct. Wilt thou defile thy mouth with ribaldrie talke; and shall that appeare in thy tongue, which nature hath concealed in her



her basest parts? Be not so base: remember the noblesse of thy birth, and thy condition farre aboue beasts; stoope not so low, as to touch, or to kisse with thy lips and thy tongue, those vncleane parts, whereof nature her selfe is ashamed.

The infamie of these actions shall better appeare by this one instance. Call foorth the incestuous or adulterous person, I will here checke and correct him. Thou beast, worle then a beast, (for many beasts seeme to obserue the Rites and sanctitie of mariage) seest thou not how thou hast sinned against heauen, and against thine owne soule? Doth not thine owne conscience accuse thee? or thinkest thou that the close night, or darknesse it selfe can couer or conceale thy sinne? &c. I haue no sooner spoken these words, but behold his hart faints, his speech failes him, he trembles & quakes, all his blood appeares in his face; as if the blood being guiltie to it selfe, should step foorth and either excusing or accusing it selfe, should wholly acquit the spirit: *For I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my spirit.* Or as if it were naturally ingrafted in man, that without the effusion of blood, there can be no remission of sinnes: and therefore (as farre foorth as the skinne will permit it) the blood desires to make some recompence for the offence.

Suppose I were to examine a guiltlesse innocent man, and to charge him with such crimes which he neuer attempted; yet sometimes there will appeare the same tokens of modestie and shame. Nature can be no lier, she will neuer accuse her selfe vniustly; though she may be innocent of this crime, yet she acknowledgeth the roote to bee corrupted, and thereby argues a possibilitie to commit the like offence: she will not wholly excuse her selfe, though she denies the particular fact. Or as if there were such a society and mariage between

Our blushing.

The innocent man will blush.



sinne on the one part, and flesh and blood on the other part, that if sin be conceived in the heart, thither flows all the blood to helpe and further the conception. Or if it be laid before the eyes, thither is all the blood conuained, to meete it, and to giue it the best entertainment. Here is a shame, here is a confession, thou canst not be ashamed but of thine owne act, and therefore needes thou must acknowledge thine owne corruption: *Indicio tuo quasi soror peristi*; Thou haddest no grace to commit sinne, and thou shalt neuer haue grace to conceale sinne.

I I

Man punisheth  
himselfe.

Hitherto we haue only enioyned man penance, wee haue discovered his nakednes, that so in a white sheete, we might put him to shame. Now let vs implore, *brachium seculare*, the temporall power, for his chastisement and correction: I will not speake of punishment imposed by mans law, but willingly vndertaken by nature her selfe. Why should fearefulnesse so much possesse man? together with a continual expectation, what euill might befall him, were it not, that it procedes from a guiltinesse of conscience? How often vpon any relation of the least mischance, do we strike our breasts, our thighes, wring our hands, stampe on the earth, and then suddenly looke vp to heauen, as if these outward annoyances could not any way concerne vs, were not the roote of this corruption within our selues? And therefore nature seemes to punish the roote, to curse and defie the earth, to acknowledge the guilt, together with the iust and due vengeance of heauen.

If any greater misfortune befall vs, then we begin to reare the haire, to bite the flesh, to forbear the societies of men, to refuse the vse of our meate, to neglect our naturall rest, to denie all comfort to our selues, and sometimes it proceds vnto death. When suddenly wee lay violent hands vpon our selues, wee desire nothing



thing so much as a perpetuall separation and diuorce, betweene the soule and the flesh; like the infinite hate of a deadly foe, who could be content to wound his owne enemies thorough his owne sides. No other creature did euer murther it selfe, but onely man; for no other creature did euer deserue it, so much as man. You will say, that this ariseth from passions, which are not incident to the wisest mē: but who hath such absolute power in himself, as y he can promise to himselfe, staiednesse and constancie in his affections? Or is it not a propertie of wise men, that they should alwaies call themselves to accounts, and accuse themselves, as the wise man saith, *Sapiens est semper accusator sui*. This cannot be without a iust ground, first presuming and presupposing an inward and secret corruption; they are apt to suspect themselves: whereas the foolish and ignorant conceiuing a casualtie and chance, neuer dreame of iust iudgements. But I pray' marke the disposition of mans body, and you shall finde that our armes, and our hands, are fitter disposed to buffet our selues, then to reuenge our enemies; they are bent to our bodies, and yet we cannot embrace our selues, as if we were our owne greatest enemies: whereas in all other creatures, their owne hornes, their tuskes, their claws, & their hooves can no way offend themselves.

I will not speake, how subiect and liable our nature is, to many ill accidents and chances: I will passe ouer all those diseases, which doe not arise from any distemper or riot, but euen from the complexion it selfe, and seeme to be hereditarie to whole mankind, as other proper diseases are intailed to certaine families and tribes. Old age seemes to be a continued disease, and therefore vndoubtedly is a naturall punishment of nature to her selfe. My second part shall treat of this subiect.

Sometimes mā  
becomes a self-  
homicide.

But



The punishment of our selues appears in our seruice of God.

But punishments should be publike and open, both for the example of malefactors, as likewise in natures defence to iustifie her actions. Behold then, wee are made a spectacle to God; to Angels, to men: our punishment is therefore laid open and manifest, to God, to Angels, to men. How fallies it out, that by an instinct of nature, in all our religious worship and seruice of God, we first begin with the punishment of our selues? Sacrifice (I thinke) is naturall to man, that in lieu of our hearts, and for the sparing of our own blood, we should offer vp the blood of others. Before the Law was giuen in Mount Sinay, there was a sacrifice: for God hath imprinted this knowledge, not onely in the Ceremoniall law, but in nature her selfe; that both nature and law might guide and direct vs to the sacrifice of his sonne: so that a sacrifice is common to all nations, common to all religions. The Heathen at this day vse in their sacrifices, the launcing of their flesh, the spilling of their owne blood, the scourging of their bodies, appearing naked before their Altars. The Idolaters of old time, how cruelly they tormented themselves, offering vp together, with the best part of their substance, their owne sonnes and their daughters in a bloody sacrifice? The Iewes, how strict were they in obseruing their fasts; how curious in their washings, putting on their haire-cloth and ashes? The Christian in his seruice of God, prepares himselfe with inward mortification and outward ceremonies; the one serues as a potion of bitterness, to purge his inward vncleannesse; the other as a plaister or salve to couer his vicer, as truly acknowledging that inwardly and outwardly, wee are wholly corrupted: and therefore both tend to edification.

For the Angels, there are two sorts of them, either good or bad: but we scarce heare any mention of the good Angels, of our guardian Angels; for so Scripture



ture saith, God hath giuen his Angels charge ouer vs; and Angels are appointed as Gods messengers for our ministerie. If any extraordinary good doe befall vs, we will rather choake it vp with vnthankfulnesse, or attribute it to some secret and hidden cause in nature, sometimes to a meere casualtie and chaunce, rather then we will ascribe it to them; as being guiltie to our selues, that through our finnes and corruptions, wee doe not deserue mercie and compassion, but iudgement and vengeance. Whereas on the contrary, for those euill spirits, the firebrands and instruments of Gods wrath, these are they which wee feare; vpon euery occasion we can say, *apage, apage, auoide, auoide, abrenuncio tibi Sathana*. Many there are, Witches & Sorcerers, which haue entred a league and fellowship with those bad spirits; and more are suspected to be of this confederacie and combination, then happily there are. For we are apt to suspect the worst in this kinde, as being priuie to our selues, that wee deserue nothing but vengeance: and generally (these bad spirits) they are the tempters and tormentors of whole mankind. And thus we seeme to bee ignorant and wholly vnacquainted with the instruments of Gods mercie; but are daily frightened and astonied, and indeed much perplexed and endamaged by them, who are appointed for the execution of his iustice: as if we did rather conuerse with them, then with Angels of light, which doth surely argue the fall and corruption of man.

How this punishment of nature, and of man himself, appeares vnto man; take our ordinarie salutations. Wherefore should I in due respect to my superiour, to signifie the honour and the reuerence, which I beare him, vncover my head, and bend my selfe, my knees to the ground, my body to my knees; were it not, that therein I acknowledge the humblenesse of mine owne minde,

How our punishment appeares in respect of the Angels.

How the punishment of our selues appeares to our selues.



minde; and doe prostrate my body, accusing it to be the roote, and the fountaine of my pride and rebellion? Do you yet require some further testimonie of my seruice? Then in the salutation, I kisse my hand, as it were taking a corporall oath, signifying and assuring you, that whatsoever I shall promise you with my lips, I shall be ready to execute and put in practise with my hands, vsing the best meanes that I can to secure you of my seruice; still supposing my inward falsehood, and that you haue iust cause to distrust me; considering my rebellious nature and inbred corruption. Thus to honour God, to honour our superiours, we must dishonour our selues, punish our owne flesh, vncouer our parts, bend our selues in subiection. Which were it not mans voluntarie punishment of his owne disobedience and sinne, it could not stand with the ordinarie iustice of nature, or the high dignitie of his condition.

12

The imprison-  
ment of the  
soule.

Now that I haue spoken of his shame and his punishment, let his bondage and flauerie appeare; and so at length I will end, hauing first committed him to sure hold and safe custodie. Our soule is imprisoned within our flesh, why should she not bee at libertie, for her flight and free passage out of this body, that she might goe and returne at her pleasure, as she is in all other her actions? Is there any substance (neither flesh nor spirit, but betweene both) which might serue to chaine and vnite in one linck, these different natures together? Or why should this priuiledge be denied man, that in regard of his spirit, he might conuerse with the Angels; as in regard of his flesh, he partakes with the beasts? Is he not here abridged and barred of his good companie and societie? Suppose man were dismembred and had lost some of his limbes; seemes not the soule to be heere contracted within her selfe, lodged in a lesse roome, as it were kept close prisoner, notwithstanding that



that she retaines all her faculties whole and entire, in as large and ample manner, as she did, when the bodie was sound and perfect, having not receiued them from the bodie, and therefore not lost them together with the bodie; which cannot bee said of the sensitiue soule.

To come to the materiall actions of his body, all the honest vocations and callings of men, what are they in veritie and truth, but only seruices and slaueries? Euery sea-faring man seemes to be a galley-slaue; euery occupation seemes a meere drudgerie, the very beasts themselues doe not suffer the like. What a dangerous and painfull labour it is to worke in repairing of sea-bankes; some are ouerwhelmed with waters, others dye surfetted with cold, the very night must giue no rest to their labours? How many haue miscarried vnder vaults, in working of mines, in digging of coale-pits, casting vp of sand, or of grauell, how many haue been buried vp quick and aliue? How many haue falne from the tops of high buildings, from scaffolds and ladders; if some Carpenters and Masons proue old men, yet how many shall you finde not decrepit or troubled with bruses, with aches and sores? How many trades are noysome, vnfit for mans health? I haue knowne a Student in Cambridge, only in the course of his profession, troubled with five dangerous diseases at once. How many trades are base and ignoble, not befitting the dignitie of mans condition, as Coblers, Finkers, Carters, Chimney-sweepers? But hearken, hearken, methinkes all the Cries of London, doe not so truly informe me, what they sell, or what I should buy, as they doe proclaime and crie their owne miserie. Consider, consider, whether any other creature could endure the like seruice; and yet this is no prentiship, that euer we should expect any better condition, but the whole time

The slaueries  
of men.



time of our life must bee spent in this flauerie. It is a truth, which will admit no exception, and therefore I will forbear to make any further complaint; onely mans nature is corrupted, mans nature is corrupted; and therefore with patience we must endure the yoke, no longer sonnes of a louing mother, but seruants and slaues to a stepdame. *Recapitulatio*

The summe of  
all the former  
reasons.

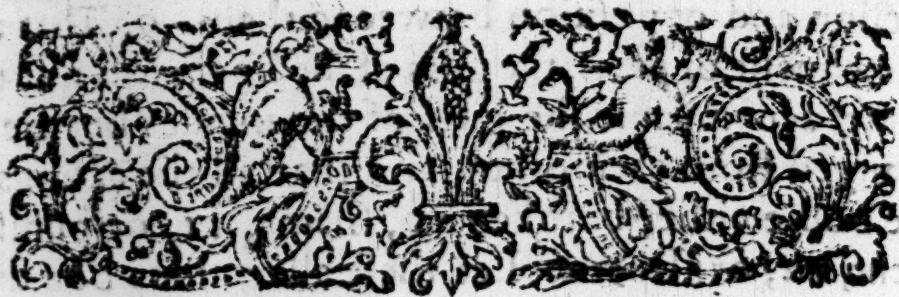
I could be infinite in these poynts : but calling to minde that I haue proceeded in a legall course, according to the forme of law, I haue impaneld my Iurie consisting of twelue reasons, I will vse no shifts or delaies, but referre my selfe to their verdict. I will heere onely rehearse, and briefly recapitulate, the summe of my proofes; considering that in the very constitution of man, many things happen, beyond the common course of nature, without president or patterne, such as could not stand with the diuine prouidence, were it not, that they are the particular punishments of mans sinne. As for example : 1. That parts of such different condition, the spirit with the flesh, mortall with immortal, should together subsist. 2. That the soule being coupled, should finde such meane and base entertainment. 3. That notwithstanding the contract, there should be a continuall disagreement & opposition between both. 4. That there should be no manner of subordination or subiectiō, such as were requisite in parts, for the vnitie of one person. 5. That being thus parts of one man, yet they should not bee acquainted with each other, but haue actions, priuate and proper to themselves. 6. That the bodie should hinder euery action of the soule, the senses falsely informing and distracting the vnderstanding. 7. The will deluded with shewes, vaine hopes, false promises, receiuing no manner of contentment. 8. The body secretly and cunningly conspires with the faculties of the soule, to set a faction



faction and opposition betweene them. 9. That the comelinesse of parts, the gifts of the body, will not together accompanie the gifts of the minde; but are estranged from each other, and that all the actions of the bodie either betoken 10, shame, 11, or punishment, 12, or flauerie. Let these allegations bee duly examined, and I doe not feare to come to a triall: for I doe here call heauen and earth to witnesse, that these things cannot stand with the wisedome of nature, the goodnesse of nature; neither haue they conformitie to the rest of the workes of nature: and therefore they serue as an extraordinary punishment, for some offence vndoubtedly, signifying the fall and corruption of man. And thus much for the very person of man, together with his parts and constitution.

*Deo gratias.*





# THE FALL OF MAN.

## THE SECOND PART.

Man in him-  
selfe, and in  
comparison to  
the creatures.

**A**S in great buildings intended, all things cannot easily bee discerned in the plat-forme; it lieth not in the power of mans wisdom, art, or providence, to prevent all errors: some faults will escape, which by use and continuance of time, will better appeare and discover themselves: so is it in the consideration of man, which consists not only in mans constitution, and the view of his severall parts, but likewise in respect of other creatures, his goods, or his substance, and whatsoever else may befall him: for every thing in nature presents it selfe, not only in it selfe, but likewise in reference & proportion to others. Thus it is with a Prince or a subiect, who must haue an eye, both to his owne estate in particular, and vpon what grounds & tearmes he stands with his bordering neighbours. Now giue me leaue, hauing thus safely lodged man, to take some further account of his life, & of his actions: I will speak of his miseries in himselfe, and in comparison with the rest of the creatures.

Before I dare presume to speake of our miseries. I must first apologize for my selfe, lest in a blinde deuotion



An Apolo gy

A Prayer.

tion I might chance to offend, and seeking to draw others vnto God, I my selfe might fall from God. Blessed Lord God, who seest the secrets of my heart, and touchest the strings of my tongue: Lord thou knowest I do not here dislike my present estate and condition; sure I am, that thou hast done and permitted all things for the best: I doe not here intend to dishonour thee, to disparage the great worke of thy creation, to vilifie and abase thy creatures, to set all things at naught; rather, O Lord, I shall doe me my selfe the basest worne upon earth, and al thy creatures good in their owne kinde, according to thine owne approbation. But, O Lord, thou knowest that I loue thee, thou knowest that I loue thee; inlarge my poore heart, that so thou maist increase the measure of thy loue in my heart. O blessed Lord God, who art the God of loue, and loue in thy selfe; and imparting thy selfe, doest together impart the loue of thy selfe; guide me by the assistance of thy spirit, that in relating these miseries, thy goodnesse may better appeare, hauing first created us in happinesse; our sorrow and repentance appeare, hauing iustly fallen of our selues; whereby sufficient meanes and occasions may be offered, with feare and trembling to work out our saluation. Here is my intent, O Lord, and this thou knowest right well, for thou seest my thoughts long before they are hatched: forgive me the sinnes of my thoughts, forgive me the sins of my mouth, and giue a blessing to those my labours; let thy power appeare in my weakness, thy glorie in my shame. Amen. Hauing thus made my peace with God, I will now fall to my intended taske.

My second kinde of arguments seemes to be built vpon these three grounds and foundations: 1. The mercie of God doth ouerflow all his works, and all his attributes, like oyle vpon liquours. This is plaine, for mercie begins his actions; God workes vpon nothing, therefore nothing could moue him to worke, but his

F

mercie.

Mercie begins  
Gods actions.



mercie. Now if all things in man did saue of mercy, it were a strong presumption, that the same mercie still discouers her selfe, in the continuance, which did first appeare in the creation: but if otherwise you discern miseries and afflictions in man, acknowledge the fruits of Gods iustice, iustice, which must necessarily presuppose some offence; or else could admit no difference, nor be distinguished from wrong and oppression. Now iustice supposing an offence, could neuer begin the action; for we could not offend, when as yet we were not: and therefore acknowledge that the fruites of Gods iustice, together with mans transgressions, are both twinnes, borne in one instant, or at least producing each other, and standing in a mutuall and reciprocall relation to each other; the offence to the guilt, the guilt to the punishment. So that the punishment is not equall in time to the production of man; first wee were existing, before we were punished.

Especially considering, that Gods intent in the creation, was onely according to the nature of goodnesse, (*ut sit communicatus sui ipsius*) to impart his owne being and attributes to the creatures: but when I finde sorrowes and griefes in man, I begin to enquire, where is the originall? for in God there is no sorrow, no griefe, no maladies, no afflictions, no diseases, no death: God did only desire to impart himselfe; whence proceedes the malignitie? were it not, that some after-corruption hath stained mans nature. The good wheate was first sown, then came the ill husbandman, *qui super-semiuauit zizania*, who did abuse the freedome of his owne will to his owne shame, chusing rather to die, then to liue. And here the thistle and cockle first began to appeare, making man, the creature of Gods mercie, the fauourite of those times (as I may so speak), the object of Gods iustice, the subiect of Gods punishment.

My

Miseries are  
the fruites of  
iustice.



My second ground is this: If miseries incident to our nature do befall vs in such number, and measure, as that they do farre exceed all our own ioyes; in so much that our nature seemes to be ouerprest with their burthen and weight, and that our conditiō should be farre better, not to bee, then to bee: then certainly the state and condition of man is cleane altered and changed from the first institution thereof. For it could not stand with the act of creation, or the goodnesse of the Deity, to make of nothing, that, which in effect is worse then nothing: So God should descend lower then himselfe, not perfiting, but confounding the creatures; and that nothing, which was before the creation, should not only beare comparison, but likewise be preferd before the state of some creatures. Now indeede the thought of mans miseries, here in the course of this life, seemed of that moment to the ancient and heathen Philosophers, that it was generally held and concluded among them, for a truth, that *melius est non nasci, quàm nasci*; it were better not to be borne, then to be borne: So that a wise man might be excluded from sorrow, he would neuer thirst after ioy; to be dead, we regard it not, but to dye, here is the torment.

For the beleeuing man and the true Christian, who (besides the miseries of this life, which he acknowledged to be the rod of Gods wrath, for the punishment of sinne) is likewise perplexed with the feare and terror of hell, where that rod shall bee turned to a serpent. How many of them haue cursed the day of their birth? How earnestly haue others besought their speedy dissolution? Doth not Christ witnesse of that sonne of perdition, that it were better for him, if he had neuer been borne; or that a millstone were chained to his neck, and both cast into the bottomlesse Sea? Is this a priuate and particular case, and doth it only concerne *Iudas*? Is not the

Our miseries  
doe exceed all  
our ioyes.

The miseries  
of a Christian  
man.



the number of the elect very small, while whole troupes and infinite multitudes of reprobates (though neuer so bold and confident of their owne righteousness) are daily reiected? And in the elect people of God, what strange agonies and conflicts appeare betweene the flesh and the spirit? Doth not the way to heauen lie by the gates of hell, when men with feare and trembling must worke out their owne saluation? If the righteous shall scarce answere one for a thousand, where shall the vngodly and sinner appeare?

My third ground is this: Certaine it is that the heauens were ordained for man, and for man alone the whole earth was created. Now supposing all other things to be directed for man, the state and condition of man (according to right reason) should farre excell theirs, as in worth and dignitie, so in true ioy and all manner of contentment; nature should be more bountifull and beneficiall to man, then to the rest of the creatures. As for example, in a house consisting of master and seruants, if plentie, ease, and contentment can bee found vnder the roose of that house, you will conceiue it in the masters person, and not in the seruants: otherwise you will suppose, a very preposterous order, that things are not as they ought to be disposed; and that it is some particular grieuance, for some particular occasion: and thus it befallles man.

Doe you doubt, whether the creatures were ordained onely for mans vse? I will not conuince you with reason, I could wish that you would forbear the vse of the creatures; doe not commit theft, defile not your hands with blood; for in truth you haue no right vnto them, if they were not appointed for your seruice. But for this one time we will acquite you: See you not how their skinnies serue for our clothing; their carkasses for our foode, or inward liuing; their strength for our labour,

Mans miseries  
are greater the  
the beasts.

The beasts  
were created  
for man.



bour, some of them for our sports and delights, some for necessitie; they haue no more strength or knowledge, then is fit for our seruice, and vse: the horse can make choice of his foode, learns his pace, remembers his way; and for his strength, it serues onely as a dull instrument, to be moued by others. But God herein deales with other creatures, as politike and practising states-men deale with their seruants; who desire to be attended by such, and of such kinde; who are either pages for age, or otherwise honest good men, who know better how to obserue the condition of seruants, then to prie into the secrecies and counsels of their masters.

Now suppose, that the very same miseries both for number and qualitie, were alike incident to man and to beast; yet mans miserie were to be reputed much greater, in regard of his personage, his dignitie and condition. If you strike or wrong a gentleman, the offence is much greater, then if it were done to a clowne or a seruant: but considering that mans body is much more tender then theirs, of a more excellent constitution, and therefore more sensible of wrongs; assuredly the paine and the torment, which he suffers in those miseries, is farre greater then theirs. A wound in the eye doth much more torment man, then in the hand or the foote, but most especially considering the pride and haughtinesse of his owne minde, hauing a truer feeling, and a stronger apprehension of his owne wrongs, that when the smart is once past in the skinne, or in the flesh; yet still the thorne seemes to take deepe hold in the braine. And thus man disquiets himselfe with his owne thoughts, that he should be thus dealt withall, perplexed and tormented like a slaue; that it should not bee in his power to prevent the like mischiefe, but he must lie open and naked to all dangers;

Their miseries  
are together  
compared.



The summe of  
these three  
grounds.

he must stand vpon his guard, yet like a disarmed and weaponlesse man, must wholly commit himselfe to their mercie: these very thoughts, as they come neere the heart, so are they a farre greater corrasie, then the wounds in the flesh. But I will spare my selfe all this labour; for I will not speake much of those miseries, which are common to both; but onely of such as are proper and peculiar to man, and therein wee seeme to exceed them by many degrees.

Thus briefly in effect, considering that many miseries are incident to man, contrary to the first intent of our creation, which was a worke onely of mercie: considering the large extent of our miseries, which seeme to ouerpoyse all the rest of our blessings, contrary to the rule of iustice, if punishment doe not first presuppose an offence; and contrary to the nature of the Deitie, which being nothing but happinesse, should therefore impart nothing but happinesse, vnlesse our deserts shall otherwise require: considering (I say) how many miseries doe befall man, common to other creatures, man, who is exempted from the ordinary ranke, and condition of other creatures: considering againe, how many punishments are proper and peculiar to man (as if nature were more mercifull to other creatures then vnto man) notwithstanding the high dignitie, and prerogative of his state and condition: I hope the fall and corruption of man, shall hereby sufficiently appeare, euen to the blindnes and darknes of our naturall reason, without any further reuelation of grace; mans own reason shal discouer his fall, being no way taught or instructed herein, by the light & direction of Gods spirit.

These are the three grounds, which seeme rather as seuerall degrees of one and the same foundation, which is laid vp and buried in the tombe of our miseries: and therefore I pray' pardon me, if I be not ouer strict and  
curious



He excuseth  
his method.

curious in my method, though I speake promiscuously, and confound them together : for miserie betokens confusion. A confused stile, and a disturbed method, is fittest to discourse of our miserie, which cannot consist with the right vse of our reason, or vnderstanding. In stead of an eloquent phrase, or a learned discourse, if I shall vse sighes, teares, sobbes and complaints, thereby to moue your compassion, this would proue the best lecture of miserie. And if I shall lay open your selues to your selues, and that my tongue shall serue, as a glasse to discouer your miserie ; in stead of the scote and burthen of my speech, at the clause of a sentence, I pray vse this short eiaculation and prayer, *Iesu fili David miserere nostri* : According to our miserie extend thy mercie (sweete Iesu), clothe our nakednesse, couer our shame, heale our infirmities ; for thou art our house of defence and our castle.

In the numbring of our miseries, I must here exclude such as are especially and principally related in Scripture, for I will reserue my selfe to speake seuerally of them in the third part. Now if I shall twice repeate any one thing, then you must conceiue that it is proper to miserie, and to miserable men, to spend their whole time in telling and retelling one and the same ill accident. For their heart is replenished with sorrow, and out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh ; considering that my condition is the same with others, and speaking of them, I speake of my selfe : yet here in deede I am but a bare reporter ; neither would I be thought to bee a counterfeit, the more to moue your pitie and compassion ; nor doe I desire long to detaine you with vaine and needlesse repetitions : May it therefore please you, to consider the difference in handling each miserie, and you shall likewise easily obserue the different narration.



The miserie  
of his birth.

Speaking of mans miseries, I will begin with mans first beginning or birth. Man only (besides his naturall birth) is conceived in sinne, and death is the wages of sinne; sometimes the wombe prooves likewise his tombe; and sometimes in his birth (being of a viperous kinde) hee proves a murtherer, and causeth her death, which first gaue him life: coming out of the wombs prison, *occisi potius quam nati imaginem gerit*, he carries the image rather of a flaine and a murthered man, then of a man newly borne, for he is borne with the effusion of blood. And being thus borne, hee is not set at libertie, but forthwith carried to the place of his torments, and execution; and as hee came, so shall hee returne, borne with sorrow and griefe, he shall dye with paine and lamentation. He is carried (I confesse) not on the hurdle, but first in the armes, then in the cradle, it may be in a coach, sometimes in a chariot; but certainly at length it will be a coffin: sleeping or waking, be the waies neuer so many, neuer so different, neuer so crooked, yet still he is carried on his iourney; howsoever the winde blowes, the tide will carrie his vessell. Our life is a kind of dying; for when it is gone, then we are dead: the wine is in spending, when first it is broached; then wee begin to dye, when first wee begin to liue. Looke vpon me, looke vpon me (beloued), I am more then halfe dead; in truth, in truth, I am more then halfe dead.

Liuing we dye.

Me thinkes I see some compassionate men calling for hot waters, fearing lest I should suddenly faint. I doe humbly thanke them for their loues; but I will spare them that labour, for I am not wounded, I confesse; I hope, I am not poysoned; I know no dangerous disease that lurkes in my body, vnlesse you will suppose mine owne nature, which indeed is corrupted, and therefore tends to corruption; yet in truth I am more then



then halfe dead. Others conceiue this, as spoken in regard of the great difference, betweene my dull and dead flesh, and my quickning spirit; or else in regard of the diuersitie of elements, whereof some are actiue and betoken life; others passiue and betoken death. Alas, alas, I doe not loue that any one, with his subtilty and tricks of Logicke, should play with my miseries; in truth, in truth, I am more then halfe dead: for heere is my death, my infancie is dead vnto me; my youth is dead vnto me; the ripenesse and fulnesse of my age is dead vnto me; that which remaines, it is the worst part of my age, the dregges of my age, wherein I can expect nothing, but sorrow, griefe, and vexation.

Thus man at his first comming into this world, incurreth the penaltie of a statute, *statutum est hominibus mori*; no sooner hee comes, but presently hee must prepare to returne. He is the sole pilgrime and stranger, and all other creatures are the native inhabitants; hee hath no terme of yeeres assigned him by lease, and if hee liues out the full scope of his time, yet when hee hath once attained old age, and then can best iudge of the time past, as hauing had it once in possession; all his whole life seemes like the dreame of a shadow, as a tale that is told, as yesterday; though to others it may seeme a long time, as all things seeme great in expectation. And of his age, let him cast vp his accounts, and deduct the time of his infancie, the times of his sleepe, the times of his sicknesse, and other times of his sorrow and griefe; and he shall finde, that the least part of his age hath past with any contentment.

But why should I speake of the course of his life, when seldome or neuer hee attaines to that period which nature hath appoynted; rising by degrees, and falling againe by the same steps and degrees, according to a iust rule and proportion? And this is most com-

The account  
of his life.

The shortnes  
and vncertain-  
tie of his life.



common and vsuall, as in plants, and in trees, so in the dumbe beasts, if you will exempt them from mans crueltie and slaughter. But for the life of man, here is the greatest vncertaintie; we are outwardly and inwardly euery way assaulted, and sometimes our life is dissolued with a poysonous breath, without any thunder-bolt, or cannon-shot: and marueile not, for wee consist of the earth, and the earth is soone scattered and easily dissolued with the winde. Clockes and instruments of iron are alwaies out of square, and still want mending. I doe much wonder, how mans body lasteth so long, were not the same mercie and goodnesse of God in the continuance, which did first appeare in the creation: and yet vpon so weake a foundation, as is the life of man, wee build vp huge towers, and conceiue great mountaines in our imagination.

His weakenes  
in his birth.

As soone as man comes into the world, he begins to discouer his nakednesse and impotencie; he is not able to goe, not able to speake, he can neither helpe himself, nor desire the helpe of another: only his trade is, not to sing, but to crie, thereby to testifie his miserable state and condition. Whereas all other creatures are no sooner brought forth, but are likewise apparelled by nature: as she giues them their foode, so likewise she provides them a liuerie; some a strong hide, others a warme fleece; the fowles of the ayre she deckes with soft feathers, wrought about with diuers colours: to the plants and the trees she giues a rinde and beautifull leaues. These are all apparelled by nature, and that in a much more sumptuous manner then man; for *Salomon* in all his robes, was not to bee compared to one of the lilies of the field.

All other creatures are borne with weapons, both offensive, as hornes, hooffes, tuskes, clawes; or defensive, as swift flight, a skill and subtiltie to hide it selfe, a  
strong



strong hide; onely man, though most obnoxious to dangers, yet wants both. Which vndoubtedly argues a guiltinesse in vs, an innocencie in them: for howfocuer the dumbe creatures groane vnder the burthen of sin, yet is it vnder the burthen of mans sinne.

All other creatures are fed from aboue, God feedes the Rauens from heauen, and nature makes their prouision; in the first houre of their birth, they seeke their portion of victual; without any guide or direction they know the way to the teate, and thus they are able to helpe themselves. Only man wants a keeper, or a nurse, to hold him vp in her armes, lest hee should bee stricken dead with his first fall; then must he be held to the breast, wrapt vp in swadling clouts, laid in a cradle: for of himselfe he hath no meanes to preserue himselfe, but would vndoubtedly perish, if the same mererie of God, which first appeared in the wombe, did not stirre vp pitie and compassion in our tender hearted parents, to take the care and charge ouer vs. And thus is man, in his birth impotent, and in his age hee seemes to be the day labourer; a very drudge vpon earth, *in sudore vultus* eating the bread of carefulnesse, and drinking the cup of sorrow.

All other creatures, if they haue a sufficient quantity of foode, will vndoubtedly thrive, their profit will be answerable to their keeping. The Sheeheard or the Grazier will almost assure himselfe, that against such a day, his sheepe or his oxen will be fit for the shambles; onely man seemes not to liue by bread alone. For notwithstanding a good diet, a hungrie appetite, a large meale; yet sometimes the body pines for want of nourishment. A good complection, and a strong constitution, are not alwaies the vndoubted tokens of the largest and best diet: the rich men of this world, can testifie this, though they haue choice of good meates, multitudes

Man is weaponlesse,

He wants more helpe then the beasts.

Beasts thrive better with their feed then man.



titudes of dishes, and varietie of exquisite sauces to prouoke their appetite; yet for the most part, they haue not the strongest bodies, the ablest constitutions, the longest liues, or the greatest succession of issue: it is not bread alone that nourisheth, but the vertue and power which God imparts vnto bread. And howsoever God doth ordinarily concur with his second causes; yet in man, in whom Gods prouidence doth most eminently appeare, sometimes to the wonder and astonishment of the Physitian and Naturalist, God denies his influence, that notwithstanding the application of outward meanes and remedies; yet the successe, beyond all probabilitie, proues contrary to mans expectation.

The beasts excell man.

Other creatures excell man in euery sense, in euery corporeal qualitie, as length of yeeres, strength, soundnes of constitution, quicknes, actiuitie; man cannot be so subtile and ingenuous to insnare the, but they are as cunning and wittie to preuent vs; you may as soone surprise and conquer a State, as preuaile against them in this kinde. Witnesse many kingdomes and prouinces, wherein the forme of gouernment hath often been changed and altered, yet could they neuer preuaile against the crueltie of wilde beasts: though the English forces haue often put to flight the incursions and rebellions of the Irish nation, yet for their Wolues wee could neuer preuaile. I speake not of their aptnesse in learning, which I haue seene wonderfull in horses, and in other creatures, for this I might ascribe in some sort to their teacher: but I speake of their naturall workes; the birds in building their nests, with straw in their bills, water in their wings, & earth in their clawes, may serue to teach and instruct vs in our architecture, in the plot-forme and contriuing of our houses.

No creature so much loathes vncleannesse as man, and yet no creature, whose flesh is so apt to be tainted, with



with vlcers, botches, and sores, as is the skinned of man; what kembering? what trimming? what oynments? what washings? what sweete perfumes? what linnen? what change of garments? and yet all will not serue: sometimes the food breakes out into sores; sometimes the moysture or steame is dissolved into issues. By the sea-side, you shall not faile to haue lepers; and in the inland-countries men are troubled with botches and scurfe. *Ireland* is plentiful of vermine, and the least neglect of our bodies will make them noysome and vncleane. Old age proues balde, without the beautie and comelinesse of haire; neither coughing, nor sneezing can free them from filth. *Qui bene olet, non bene olet*, he that hath the sweetest smell, hath not the sweetest bodie: of all the noysome fents, there is none so rammish, and so intollerable, as is that which proceedes from mans bodie: whereas the poore shepheard, without any other remedies of art, only with his Tarre-boxe, is able to preserue a huge flocke of sheepe; and the Farrier with his drinke, and his letting of blood, cures all the diseases of beasts.

Many hearbes, many beasts, many trees, are in themselves odoriferous, and yeeld a sweete saour; for God hath ordained them to be natures sacrifice to himselfe: But I thinke, if man were thoroughly searcht, search the very entrailes and bowels, and you shall hardly endure the sent. I will not speake of his filth issuing from his eares, his eyes, nostrils, mouth, nauill, and the vncleane parts; take his very flesh, his bones, and his sinewes, burne and consume them with fire: O the sweet smelling sacrifice, as loathed of God, so hateful and distastfull to man himselfe! for what should wee expect of flesh and blood, but corruption?

From the altar of sweete odours, let vs come to their quier: Hearke, hearke, the excellent notes of singing birds;

The vncleanness of man.

The sweete odors of the creatures.



mean  
treble  
tenor  
bass.



The musicke  
of the crea-  
tures.

birds, what varietie of voyces? how are they fitted to euery passion? The little chirping birds (the Wren, and the Robin) they sing a meane; the Goldfinch, the Nightingall, they ioyne in the treble; the Blacke bird, the Thrush, they beare the tenour; while the foure footed beasts with their bleating and bellowing they sing a base. How other birds sing in their order, I referre you to the skilfull Musitians: some of them keepe their due times; others haue their continued notes, that al might please with varietie: while the woods, the groues, and the rocks, with a hollownesse of their sound, like a muscicall instrument, sends forth an eccho, and seemes to vnite their song. Only man, as being a wild and a fierce creature, hath no certaine note or tune; his painfulness in learning shal recompence his delight in the hearing; his instruments are the guts of dead creatures, a token of his crueltie, and the remainder of his riot. With these instruments he must please himselfe in his melancholic fits, take his recreation, temper his passions, and vse the as a meanes to kindle his deuotion: *O praise God upon the Lute and Harpe, praise him in the sound of the Trumpet, praise him in the Cymbals and pipes; let euerie thing that hath breath praise the Lord.* And thus man seemes to be defectiue and destitute aboue all other creatures, euen in that, which was the first end and scope of his creation.

The tempe-  
rance of the  
creatures.

If you regard neither sweete odours, nor heauenly musicke, nor beautifull colours; yet consider the creatures in themselves: all other creatures (yea the most rauinous) seeme to be much more temperate in their diet, or foode, then is man. Sometimes, indeede, these home-bred creatures, through mans ill vsage, either in their excessiue labour, or through their distempered foode or waters, are subiect to surfeits: but for those wilde beasts, which do not commit themselves to mans custodie,



custodie, they are priuiledged, and exempted as from all riots, so from all surfeits; notwithstanding the abundance and plenty of their foode, especially at some seasons. And here appeares our corruption, no creature so inclined and apt for a riot; no creature so subiect to a surfeit, and all our diseases, for the most part, arising from a surfeit: intimating the first gluttonie and surfeit of mankinde, in eating the forbidden fruite. Herein appeares our corruptiō aboue theirs: either nature should haue dieted vs, as she doth the rest of the creatures; or else she should haue prescribed vs a measure, and giuen vs that prouidence to moderate our selues.

As it is in their diet, so in all other actions of the flesh. Other creatures, though hotter in constitution, yet are they not so much inclined to their lust, as is man. And sometimes the more impotent man, the more inclined to the sinne; the sinne it selfe not arising from the strong constitution, or the abundance of seede: but from some outward temptation, or by a strong inward apprehension in the phantasie. So that feeblenes, which in all other creatures, giues them some respite; yet in man, through a continuall ill habit, though it weaken the body, it doth not abate the lust. In so much that for the remedie and cure of this sinne, there is not onely prescribed vnto vs, fasting, but prayer; not onely the flesh is to be tempered and allaied with abstinence, but the minde distracted with worldly thoughts, must conuerse with God and his Angels; that so inamoured with their beautie, we might forsake our first loue, the loue of this world, the loue of the flesh, the loue of our selues, *Sponsabo tibi in aeternum delectus meus tibi, et ego illi.* If thou wilt offer vp thy heart vpon Gods altar, as a whole burnt offering, nothing shall remaine for any secular vse or employment.

To speake of the foode both of man and of beasts,  
how

Man more inclined to his lust.



The food both  
of man and  
beast.

how nature hath supplied their necessities with the daintinesse and delicacie of meates; I will not compare the best of the one with the meanest of the other: for vndoubtedly a Ladies whelp, or a singing bird in the cage, are more daintily kept then a poore mans childe. The Hounds eate vp the best part of the venison, and the Hawkes feede vpon Partridge, while the poore Dutch men, like swine, digge vp the rootes; and the gentleman-like Italian (notwithstanding his brauerie, and his picking of teeth) feeds vpon Sallads. The poore people of *England* are vsually kept with their oates, which here we giue to our horses; and if their meanes will reach, they feed vpon milch-meates (which indeed is their ordinarie food), doe not calues and lambes do the like? Doth not the Bee feede vpon the sweete honeycombe? Or is there any delicious tree in our gardens, whereof the fowles of the ayre doe not share in the fruite? The Kite preyes vpon Chickens, the Wolfe vpon the tender Lambe, and the Kid; the Foxe vpon poultrie: and I thinke that Purueiours could hardly make better prouision for a Prince his diet. If there were any difference, yet certainly their foode is as agreeable to their nature, as pleasant and delicious to them, as ours is to vs; we reiect theirs, they reiect ours. All men are not delighted with sweete meates, the same taste is not alike pleasing to every palat; nature makes their prouision agreeable to their state and condition, and therein seemes to bee alike bountifull both to man and to beast: *Aperis tu manum tuam, & implet omne animal benedictione*; Thou openest thy hand, O Lord, and fillest every living thing with thy blessings.

Hauiing receiued their foode, assuredly their digestion is much better then ours: nature seemes lesse to complaine in them, then in vs, and more rarely commits an error. For as it is in trees and in plants, which draw-



drawing sappe by the roote, doe yeerely in the spring time send forth a blossome, then a leafe, then the fruit, and at length brings all to full ripenes, obseruing the iust time and seasons for euery action. So is it in the feeding of dumbe creatures; they seeme to keepe the same station, the same course; at the same houres they alwaies approach to the same places, either for water, or shade, or for ease; iust at the same time they alwaies betake themselues to their rest, or their sleepe. See here an excellent diet, these are singular meanes to preserve health; nature seemes to haue set vp a clock, and in an equall distance by even paces, to performe her office and dutie. Doe you yet require some further experiment? I will sooner breake your sleepe, then that you should rest vnsatisfied. Hearke, hearke, in the dead night, the Cock crowes, and points out the time; *Gallus negantes arguit, gallus iacentes excitat*: He calles the husbandman to his labour, the scholler to his studie, and alwaies serues for a watch to giue an alarum. Philosophie can assigne no other reason of his crying, but onely the seuerall degrees and the strict order obserued in his concoction; nature hauing finished her taske, presently he awakens, then immediatly out of his braue courage, hauing receiued strength from his rest, he begins to insult, while others will answere his challenge, and here seemes to be a peale of ordinance; while the cold night, and some raw humours yet vndigested, shall bring them to a second rest, and inforce a silence. And thus it falles out, thorough the whole course of the night; *gallicinium*, the Cocke crowing seldome deceiues vs, onely in the change of weather, you shall obserue a change in their naturall actions.

Being thus temperate in their diet, and their foode agreeable to their nature, and their nature performing her taske, no marueile if they be lesse subiect

G

pers,

The concoctions of the beasts are more perfit the ours.



The dumbe  
beasts lesse sub-  
iect to distem-  
pers then man.

pers, then man; distempers, I say, which are the fore-  
runners to diseases (for as yet I will not extend my  
speech to diseases) from whence ariseth all this distem-  
per of our bodies, especially of ours, more then of all  
the rest of the creatures? You will say, from the excel-  
lencie of our constitution. But how doth this appeare?  
Other creatures haue their senses more exquisite, for  
they can discern the change and alteration of wea-  
ther; if any one man can doe the like, it is to his paine  
and his torment: some old ach, or brused sore, or cra-  
zie bones may make him prouident and wise to his  
sorrow. You will say, that man cannot so well intend  
the actions of his sense, as they, in regard of his other  
employments, being taken vp with the weightier af-  
fares of his reasonable soule. But suppose that man  
should turne beast, and proue an hireling onely for the  
seruice of his senses: suppose him an ideot, or a luna-  
ticke; could hee then attaine to the least part of this  
knowledge? No certainly, the old shepheard (after  
long obseruation) cannot informe himselfe in this  
kinde, but still must bee instructed and taught by his  
flocke: this should argue, as perfect a temper in them,  
as in vs.

Mans temper.

But suppose mans temper to bee the best, then there  
appeares the corruption of nature, to make the best the  
most brittle. Suppose this best temper did consist in a  
mediocritie, as indeede it doth, then should it be lesse  
obnoxious to any extreame; it should bee able to resist  
as the biting frost, so the melting heate, *moderata du-  
rant*; as in factions and parts taking, the safest and su-  
rest course is, not to intermeddle with either side, vn-  
lesse necessitie inforceth vs, but to stand indifferently  
affected to both. The moderate mixture of gold, giues  
it the greatest and longest continuance, while other  
bodies approaching neerer the extreames, are either

cold nipt



nipt with the frost, or scorched with the heate, or suddenly dissolued by the application of some contrarie qualitie.

I cannot yet bee resolued, from whence come all these distempers more incident to man, then to all other creatures: the parts of man are the same, for number, qualitie, figure, situation, with other creatures. Mans foode, clothing, habitation, places of rest, and recreation, seeme to be much better then theirs, being all in mans owne choice, who will vndoubtedly make choice of the best: the means for preserving his health, are much greater then theirs; in heate hee can vse the shade, the groue, and the sellar; in cold, the fire, the lambe-skinne, the warme broths, besides all the helps of physicke, the studies of many learned men, the practise and experience of all ages, the farre fetched Indian drugges, and all the remedies of art; yet all will not serue; no creature so subiect, no state so obnoxious to all distempers, as man. It should seeme wee liue vpon the borders, betweene God and the creatures, and therefore these maladies, by God inflicted on nature, must first seaze and light vpon vs: or we alone hauing tasted the forbidden fruite, the raw humours are still indigested, they lie heauie on the stomacke; the stomacke which serues for our kitchen, and is the well-spring of all our diseases.

The many distempers which happen to man, seeme to shorten his age, which indeed carries not the same proportion with the age and life of the creatures. One and twentie yeeres passe, when wee liue vnder the custodie, and tuition of others, not able to dispose of our selues. Hitherto wee are in the cradle: now triple this time, and it will amount to sixtie three yeeres, not one of a hundred doth arriue to that age. As you walke in the streetes, obserue the number of passengers, iudge of

The meanes  
for mā's health  
cannot pre-  
serue him.

The course of  
mans age.



their yeeres by their complections; or looke into the Register booke of your Churches, and you shall finde more liuing vnder the age of thirtie, then aboue. Now from this age to sixtie three, there remains thirtie three yeeres; a long time, I confesse, in respect of mans age: for the wisdom of the law, the common course and practise of these times, doth proportion one and twentie yeeres to three liues: before man comes to the age of fifteene, most commonly he hath lost the greatest number of his kinsmen and friends. And hence it is, that euery man desires to free his lands from wardship, though otherwise they are the eldest sonnes of such men, who are vsually matched very young, and do no way indanger their liues. If man comes vnto fortie yeeres, then all his acquaintance is among the dead: he scornes to conuerse with young men, to take their counsell or aduice, whom he knew boyes without vnderstanding, and are still boyes, in respect of himselfe. Whereas all other creatures doe attaine to their full perfection of growth, and strength, long before they attaine vnto the third part of their age; and for all other their workes of nature, their breeding, the soundnes of their bodies, the continuance of their liues, you shall finde a farre greater certaintie in them, then in the condition of man.

The length of  
mans age.

For the length of mans age, as some other creatures exceed man, so man exceeds the most of the creatures; for after the fall and corruption of man, yet still the mercie of God hath appeared in the preservation of mans life, to assure vs of that immortalitie, which wee should haue enioyed in our integritie; and to bee the earnest of that eternitie, which hereafter wee shall receiue in our flesh. It stood with the power of God, and with the honour of our creation, that creatures should decline by degrees, hereafter as they were more  
or



or lesse distant from that first mould, made by the immediate hands of God, and his owne workmanship. And therefore the Patriarkes, with their many hundred yeeres, farre exceeded their posteritie; but at the deluge, it should seeme that God appointed a new computation of yeeres for mans age, that hee might be the more terrified from attempting of sinne, by considering the frailtie of his owne life; and that God might neuer be inforced to punish mans sinne, with the like heauie indgement of waters, whereby hee might incurre the breach of his promise.

Considering all the infirmities of mans nature, and the weakenesse which seemes to bee proper and incident to his condition, the life of man is farre shorter, then is the life of the creatures: for here in this world, by the course of Gods prouidence, there ought to bee a lineall succession; the father should liue, and take protection of his sonne, vntill his sonne should bee able to prouide for himselfe: and herein, if you shall compare man with the beasts, you shal find him farre short, and very much defectiue.

Considering againe the difficultie of many trades, of many professions, which are necessarily required for the vpholding of mans life, the learning whereof takes vp the greatest part of his age; for we haue not our workes by a naturall instinct, like the creatures, neither are we fit to serue, fit to learne, vntill wee come to the age of fixteene yeeres, and then wee must stay out our prentiship. Suppose I were to vndertake the profession of a Scholler; almost twentie yeeres would runne ouer, before I could learne the rudiments of Grammar, and then not thirtie yeeres will suffice to attaine to any perfection of Arts. We can make no addition of our owne, wee can adde no new inuention, vntill a longer time be expired: and therefore it

The comparison of mans age with the creatures.



stood with the diuine goodnesse, that the father might be able to instruct his owne sonne in Gods law; that seeing the motion of the heauens (the reuolution whereof cannot bee discerned within lesse then the compasse of mans age) he might worship the power of the Deitie: and hauing a long time of miserie, and great varietie of accidents, his time might likewise bee prolonged, and the occasions often renewed, for his true repentance and sorrow; and yet in his whole time, he should not be able to secure himself, the respite of one houre.

The delights  
of the crea-  
tures are grea-  
ter then mans.

The age makes not for the happinesse of a creature: for we must consider, not how long we haue liued, but how well we haue liued; and therefore I will speake of the delights of this life, wherein the dumbe beasts seeme farre to exceede man. For these are not to be proportioned according to their number, but according to the capacitie of their nature. They haue no apparell (I confesse) they haue no houses, no furniture, for they want none, here is their greatest comfort and happinesse. Man only, that is the stranger and pilgrime, he must pitch vp his tent, set vp a house, or habitation for himselfe; the proper and natieue inhabitants, are sufficiently prouided for by nature her selfe. It would be a disparagement for vs to set vp our seeled houses, if our weakenesse and tenderneesse would permit vs to liue in the open ayre, vnder the faire couering of the heauens, bespangled with glorious starres; vpon the pauement of the earth matted, or rather fringed with greene blades. Whether would you iudge him that is already satisfied with foode; or the hungrie and rauinous cormorant, that still requires more and more foode, to be the happier? Whether would yee preferre him, that hath all the helpes of physicke, being sicke, or him that in perfect health requires no physicke at all? and this  
is



is the condition of dumbe beasts, in respect of man.

For the pleasures and sports belonging to brute beasts, you see that Princes and Nobles take their greatest pastime, in those royall games of Hawking, and Hunting. I would gladly know, whether the Faulcon receiues more delight in the sport, or the Faulconer? the one being an actor in the businesse, it being more agreeable to the nature thereof; the other a bare spectator in the game. Heere is no violence, no coercion, but a free and a voluntarie flight, and commonly without resistance, without danger or perill. When the sport is ended, then is the Hawke carried vpon the hand, as it were in triumph, an honour well befitting the state of a Prince: neither will she entertaine into her seruice men of the meanest condition and place; but such as expect other mens attendance, and take vnto themselves the highest titles of dignitie, do notwithstanding make themselves seruants and slaues to their Hawkes. As much may be said for the Hounds, who sometimes (besides the benefit of their sports) share in the best part of the Venison.

I would not here willingly haue you suppose, that I were a Proctor, entertained to speake in the behalfe of dumbe beasts: neither doe I here purpose to acquit or excuse them from their miseries; but onely to lessen theirs in proportion to ours; giue me therefore leaue further to compare them together, in such heauie accidents and dangers as happen to both. First from the elements themselves, the ouerwhelming inundations of water; the vnresistable violence of fire; the ayre with a noysome and infectious breath bringing a pestilence; the earth not yeelding her fruites, causing a famine; the inward diseases which are common to both; the outward wrongs and grieuances, which they sustaine from each other; the seruices and slauieries where-

The pleasures  
of the beasts.

The dangers  
of both.



Man is more  
subiect to the  
danger of wa-  
ters then the  
beasts.

whereunto they are subiect: and lastly their slaugh-  
ter.

Suppose that man, together with a dumbe beast, should fall into any danger of waters; all the beasts of the field, of what condition soeuer, doe naturally swim to saue themselves: onely man, who seemes to be better disposed for it, then any other land creature, in regard of his vpright & straight figure (as it were) resembling the forme of a vessel, a broad and spacious breast-plate, that so the greater quantitie of water supporting it, might vphold it the better, extended armes and legges, together with the palmes of his hands, and the soles of his feete (as it were) in stead of oares; his bones not so massie or weightie as theirs, the rest of his bodie being like vnto theirs: yet onely man is defectiue herein, and must learne that by art, practise and experience, which they haue by a naturall instinct; though otherwise man, of all other creatures, is onely inforced to commit himselfe to the danger of waters. But obserue and you shall finde it in a farre greater wonder; as long as heate continued in the body, which by all likelihood should eleuate and lift it vp, to preserue the body together with life; then behold, the waues and the deepe striue against nature, the one swallowing, the other ouerwhelming mans body: but when his dead carkasse for a few daies hath rested in the waters, whether it be to disgorge him, lest otherwise he might taint the sweete saour; or desiring to make some recompence for his death, that he might haue a Christian buriall, whom the sea thought vnworthie of life; at length she returnes him, and sends him to the shore, when his body is breathlesse and cold, much heauier then it was wont; and therefore with the stockes and the stones might well haue sunke to the bottome, and there haue continued in a tombe of waters, were it not, that the  
liuing



living should receive some instructions from the dead, and be admonished by the feare and terror of death.

Having diued into the waters, now giue me leaue to approach, & to drie my selfe by the fire; only man, of all other creatures, findes vse of this element, for his foode, and for his warmth: other creatures seeme to liue in a temperate zoane, clothed sufficiently against the winters cold blast, and shaded sufficiently against the scorching heate of the summer. They haue their dennes and their caues without any chimneyes or stoues; only man stands in want of fire: and therefore if wee looke to receive the benefit, first let vs acknowledge the infirmity to be proper and peculiar to vs; and especially to the weakest of vs, to women, children, and old age: and as we receive the benefit, so must we stand to the danger; sometimes the losse and consuming of all our substance and goods; sometimes the burning of our owne flesh, neither members nor lines are alwaies secured; sometimes contraries together conspire against man, the water serues to carrie the violence of heate, and scaldeth our hands and our shinnes; sometimes the very foode or sustenance of man being ouer rashly taken, in stead of a delicious taste, burnes the tongue and the palate. O happie other creatures, that are exempted, as from the vse, so from the danger of fire!

When I consider these accidencies of water and fire, I must necessarily conclude, that both the deluge of water, and the future dissolution by fire; both of them are first and principally directed for man, as the fruites of his offence, so the effects of his punishment: though secondarily they might intend the dumbe creatures, as they serue for mans vse and ministrie,

To come to the neerer elements, which are more familiar vnto vs, and wherewith wee are better acquainted. First for the contagious ayre, no creature is so sub-

Man only sub-  
iect to the  
danger of fire.

iect



Plagues and  
infections inci-  
dent to man.

iect to a generall infection and pestilence, as is man. In this one Citie we haue buried three thousand a weeke, and so for many weekes together much about that number, when the plague hath continued within the kingdome for many yeeres. This plague, it doth not arise from the food or any distemper of our bodies, but from the ayre; it is a poyson which workes vpon the vitall spirits, and seeming to neglect other baser and inferiour parts, first sets vpon the heart, striking at the roote of life, and suddenly in a moment it brings vs to ruine. If the partie himselfe shall happily escape, yet still the infection continueth, though the garment bee worne out with vse, consumed with the moath, yet in the bare threads the poyson will priuily lurke: the open ayre cannot sufficiently pearce, the fire cannot cleanse, mans prouidence cannot preuent; but it findes out some lurking hole, some shelter or couering to hide it selfe, vntill at length it bursts into vengeance, to the wonder and astonishment of nature. Summer and winter both serue alike to harbour such an vnkind ghest; it will inhabit the bare walles rather then it will be excluded; the dumbe creatures, the dogs and the mice shall serue to scatter it; especially fruite shall nourish it, for it was the forbidden fruite, which gaue it the first entrance and occasion. Marueile not how mans sinne, like an hereditarie disease, should bee together propagated with his seede, when the breath of his nostrils may thus worke vpon thousands at once, vpon the strongest and ablest bodies, to their vtter dissolution and ruine.

But plagues are rare, and seldome befall vs, they follow either the opening of the earth; when a poysonous and putrified breath, inclosed in the bowels of the earth, doth finde out some vent, and infects the plants and the fruites; or else they are caused by some strange

con-

Pestilent  
con-  
trags.



8

coniunction or opposition of starres. For I will not dispute of Gods immediate and extraordinary actions, these I will passe over with silence, and reuerence, trembling at his iudgements: but sure I am that God is the God of nature, and hee can vse naturall meanes, for the punishment of mans sinne: thus plagues are sometimes foreseene and foretold. But to come to those infections which are vsuall and ordinary; how many places are there, where Physitians forbid our habitation? the hundreds of Essex, Rumney in Kent, the Fennes of Ely, the Marshes of Lincolne, the Woulds in the North, the Moores in the South, the Downes in the West. These are all vnhabitable places, and cannot agree with mans health, as if God had not giuen the whole earth for mans vse. They are wealthie (I confesse) if they were healthie; the soile is rich and fat, it agrees with the nature of all other creatures, makes them plumbe and in good liking (man only excepted).

Let vs leaue those noysome and pestilent countries, and come we to the pleasant and healkfull soyle. Take this one Citie, which certainly is seated as well for health, being a sandie drie ground, and as conuenient for marchandise, in regard of this kingdome, as any Citie is, or can be in the world: yet in regard of commers, their close buildings, the societies of men, for want of fresh ayre, sometimes for the noysome trades, sometimes for the ditches and vaults; how many streetes, alleyes, lanes, are made inhabitable? All the Wharffes of London, Stepney, and S. Prooleys will testifie as much in effect. Marueile not, that the Gentry make choice of the Suburbs, and begin to build in the fields, they are wise in their owne generation; they desire the prouision and conueniencie of the Citie, but the ayre and the breath of the Countrey.

Me thinkes I am like the Doue, which flew out of  
Noas

Noysome places in Cities.



The famine of  
man in respect  
of the crea-  
tures.

*Nons* Arke: for hauing been tossed with the waters, hauing scorched my wings with the fire, not able long to subsist or to houer in the pestilent aire, I must search for some resting place here vpon earth, our mother earth. For wee are made of the earth, we are nourisht by the earth, and wee shall be dissolued to the earth; and yet notwithstanding, this earth, sometimes for want of other fruites, will affoord vs the fruites of a famine, as leannesse, feeblenesse, palenesse, wannesse, &c. In the famine of the creatures, wee share with them, but they no way partake with vs; their sorrow makes for our sorrow, for they are directed to our vse; but whatsoever griefe or want is ours, is properly our owne, and no way concernes them. If God punish the earth with a great drought, as it causeth a barrenesse in nature; so it argues the barrenesse of our nature, in respect of good workes. And as the earth opens and gapes for raine, so mans guts and bowels (like Horseleaches) shall suck and not be satisfied, for want of due nourishment; then the dumbe creatures want sustenance and foode, which they testifie with their cries, and their groanes. And the time shall succede, when man shall finde a want of the creatures; and notwithstanding his cries, and complaints, though hee could neuer be perswaded to a religious fast, yet at length (maugre his appetite and riotous disposition) hee shall be inforced to an abstinence.

The creatures vndoubtedly, are not so subiect to famine, as is man; some of them cause a dearth amongst vs, when God giues the labours of our hands (the fruits of the earth) to bee deuoured of the Grashopper and Catterpillar, as much better deserving them, then wee wretched & sinful men: to others (as it appeares in the Ant) God hath giuen a greater forecast & prouidence, to make her prouision in due season out of our plentie, then



then man hath or can haue, notwithstanding his reasonable soule. Some creatures there are, which feed vpon the bare elements, or other common foode, and haue alwaies a like plentie. Beares being hungrie will eat earth and stones, vntill conuenient time serue, to replenish themselves with better foode: the Eastridge will deuoure Iron, and therefore she lends her feathers to the Campe for their beautie and ornament, as being the excrement of their weapons. Sometimes the clawes of beasts yeelds nourishment to the stomacke, vntill the stomack againe returne it with great thankfulness, thorough the liuer, by the veynes, to the parts from whence it was borrowed: As in nature there seemes a kind of circular conuersion, the fruites of the earth doe fatten beasts, and the dung of beasts doth fructifie the earth: and thus it befallles some of them, in case of necessitie.

Creatures there are which sleepe all winter, and are committed to the safe custodie and protection of nature, returning with the Sunnes returne, and freed from the sorrow, partake onely in the ioy of his presence. Others following (as it should seeme) the course and direction of the heauens, doe alter and change their climate, and affording vs their companie onely in the plentiful times, they neuer share in our wants. Many of the in the hardest times, seeme to be in the best plight; the white frost fattens the birds, and the Rabbits, while poore man creepes to the fire, and complaines of the weather. To conclude, if any one of them smart, and be pined in their foode, it is man that shall taste of that iudgement, who feeds on their flesh; their punishment lights vpon vs, and ours no way concernes them: any one of them will serue for our smart, the rot of sheepe, the murraine of beasts, the tainting of fishes, and here is our unhappie condition.

Leauing the elements, let vs come to our bodies consisting

The beasts not  
so subiect to a  
famine as man.

Their famine  
is ours.



How man is  
subiect to dis-  
eases.

sisting of elements. Why should man be more subiect to diseases, then all other creatures? Not any part of man without seuerall and special diseases; not any moment of his age wherein sicknesses and infirmities doe not watch and attend their opportunitie, arising from the very constitution of his body; the small poxe & the measles creepe in his cradle; the wormes, the scabbes, and the botches attend him to schoole; in his youth, hot agues and plurisies, like burning seas with their eb-bings and flowings, going and returning according to their fits & their seasons, to the wonder of nature, & the astonishment of the Physitian; in his elder yeeres, the stone, the gowte, the strangullion; then ruptures, aches, and coughes; at length the dead palsie, the apoplexie, the lethargie giues him his deadly wound. Thus man stands to be baited, while all the diseases, like so many furies, some gnaw at his throte, others thrust at his liuer, some dart at the kidneys, others aime at the heart; all nature cannot supplie the like president. And therefore giue me leaue (though I offend much against the rules of art) to compare man to man himselfe, the generall state of man, to the picture of that man which stands in the forefront of an Almanack; the Lion strikes at the heart, and the back, while Cancer nips the breast and the stomacke, Sagittarius shootes at the thighes, Capricorne butts at the knees: and here you haue the liuely representation of man.

The diseases of  
the season.

Euery time and season hath his proper and peculiar diseases. In the spring time, when nature seemes to make restitution for the cold winter, that as wee were formerly exiled from a garden, so now a garden should be brought vnto vs, (which indeed is an excellent embleme and figure of mans resurrection, and his restitution to Paradise) then begins the cold winter in our bodies, a time of stormes and of tempests, then begin  
the



the lurking and hidden diseases first to appeare, together with the fruites of the earth, as a principall fruit of the earth, heere is worke and imployment for the Physitian : then the Summer approacheth, which seemes to draw all heate out of our bodies, and leaues them impotent and weake ; we are wearie and sweate with our idlenes, and while the little Bee labours, and whole nature is busied in making her prouision, then wee desire immoderate sleepe, as if the worke did little concerne vs.

But when we awaken, and see nature in her full beautie and prime, how she is crowned with garlands and varietie of flowers, how she boasts of the fruitfulnessse of her owne wombe, in producing so many such excellent and delicious fruites : then forthwith begins our sorrow, for with the fall of the leafe, we begin to complaine of old aches. See then, we cannot couer our nakednesse with leaues, but here is the fruit of the first fruit that euer we tasted. Autumne is the time of the greatest mortalitie, and this proceeds especially by eating of fruites, an vndoubted token and remembrance of that first forbidden fruit. Thus is poore man alwaies sicke with continuall fits, he begins with the spring, for in the spring the world had his beginning ; hee findes some abatement in summer, for then hee is smothered and choaked vp with heate ; but in Autumne his fits are renewed, vntill winter approch, which hath resemblance not to old age (as some suppose, and this were sufficient) for old age is a continuall sicknesse, and infirmitie ; but to death it selfe, consisting of barrennesse, making no difference betweene the fruitfull vine, and the vnprofitable fallow : all woods must then serue alike for the sewell, as all the whole world shall at length be consumed in a generall combustion.

From the diseases, let vs come to the cure : and first  
for

The whole  
yeere serues  
for our conti-  
nuall fits.



The easie cure  
of dumbe  
beasts.

for the dumbe beasts. All the beasts of the field know what is profitable for their food, their sight, their sent, their owne knowledge sufficiently informes them; according to the season and time, thereafter they proportion their diet; as is most befitting their nature, you shall finde their habitation and dwelling; if sicknesse attach them, they seeke no further helpe, but only their owne naturall instinct; they begin the cure with forbearance and abstinence, that so nature might strengthen her selfe; then they seeke some physicall hearbe, they know where it growes, they know in what dosis to take it, and the manner of application: here is short worke, I confesse. But come wee to man, and I feare I shall proue tedious in my discourse. Man alone (notwithstanding the diseases whereunto hee is subiect) doth infinitely exceed theirs, both for number and danger, yet wants he all those helpes, which nature hath supplied to all other creatures in a plentifull manner: and therefore man must intend a long course of studie, very harsh and very difficult to supplie his defects, *ars longa est & vita brevis*. When I consider those large volumes of *Galen, Hippocrates, Auicen, &c.* me thinks it would aske a mans whole life to peruse them. It were wel, if the Physitian might be priuiledged and dispensed withall for his health, vntill he had finisht the course of his studies; but commonly in the midst of them, sicknesse preuents him; setting the nature of diseases before his own eyes, they sease vpon his flesh, notwithstanding his great learning, and the strong bulwarke of his physicke. Is it possible that all these huge and large volumes, farre exceeding mans body in largenesse and weight, should not bee able sufficiently to describe it, but that euery yeere should finde out some place & part of mans body for a new incroaching disease, vnkowne to the Ancients, and wondred at by the professors?

The difficultie  
in mans cure.

In



In prescribing their physicke, obserue how curious they are, it appeares by their dosis, their waights, ounces, dragmes, scruples, graines, as if they were able to square out, and to proportion nature to a iust rule and leuell, to poysse and to ballance her to the inch: consider their innumerable Recipe's, their compositions consisting of various and infinite ingredients; whereas certaine it is, that there are but foure first qualities, & euery one of them may be allaied by his contrary. Wherefore, I pray, serues so great varietie? I had thought that it had been to hide and couer the mysteries and secrets of their art, to make it seeme wonderfull and incomprehensible; or else to raise the price of their physicke, to make their own wares sale-able. But shall I tell you the reason? In truth I feare they doe but guesse at their physicke: Philosophie, whose search is deeper in nature, seemes ingeniously to confesse as much, when as in euery creature she placeth certaine hidden and secret qualities, which the reason of man cannot finde out, as likewise not the degrees of those qualities: and therefore euery Physitian is an empirick, his learning is gotten by experience, and not by reason or discourse; though otherwise Scripture can giue him this testimonie, that the profession it selfe is very honourable, as being the appoynted meanes vnder God, for recouering and retaining our health.

From the Physitian let vs come to the Apothecaries: When I see their shops so well stored and furnisht with their painted boxes and pots, in stead of commending the owner, or taking delight and pleasure in the shop, I begin to pitie poore miserable and wretched man, that should be subiect to so many diseases, and should want so many helps for his cure, I could wish y his pots were only for ornament, or naked and emptie, or that they did but onely serue for his credit, for he is the hap-

H

pic

Our physicke  
not so certaine  
as theirs.



Our distastfull  
physicke.

The Indian  
drugges doe  
not agree with  
our bodies.

pic man that can liue without them. But here I can doe no lesse, then take some notice of their physicke; most commonly the medicines are more fearefull then the disease it selfe, I call the sicke patient to witnesse, who hath the triall and experience of both. As for example, long fastings and abstinence; a whole pint of bitter potion, pills that cannot be swallowed, noy some distastfull and vnsauourie vomits, the cutting of veines, the launcing of sores, the searing vp of members, the pulling out of teeth: here are strange cures, to teach a man crueltie; the Surgeon shall neuer be of my Iurie.

In fetching this physicke (these Indian drugs) thousands doe yeerely endanger their liues, through the diuersitie of the Climate, going to a new found world; they goe indeed to another world: where (as I suppose) that the physicall hearbe of euery cuntry is most proper and fit for the inhabitants of that cuntry, according to the course of Gods prouidence; and according to the Physitians owne aphorisme, that a cure gently performed according to naturall degrees, is alwaies most commendable. Their hearbes doe not agree with our constitution; yet such is our wantonnesse, that sometimes with taking their physicke, wee ouerthrow the state of our bodies; and in stead of naturall, we make our selues artificiall stomackes, when our English bodies must proue the store-houses of Indian drugges. There is a great distance in the Climat, and therefore we should not rashly vndertake such a journey, to ioyne together things so farre separated in nature. Sometimes againe with taking too little physicke, we doe but onely prouoke and stirre vp those humours, which we cannot expell: sometimes the curing of one disease, is an inducement to another; lest there should be an emptinesse or vacuitie in nature, there must be a succession of diseases in mans body.

The



The diseases of our bodie come to vs in poste, or on horsebacke, but they depart from vs on foote, very leisurely and softly; and in our cures, nothing so easie as to commit an error, and being once committed, nothing so dangerous. If the bodie be scalded with the heate of thy bloud in a feauer, and that thou desirest to giue it some vent; take heede, for if thou doest it not, in a iust measure, it will straight turne to a Dropisie. Is thy stomacke ouerloaded with ill humours, and that thou desirest a vomit? sometimes it will draw on a phrensie. Doest thou desire to purge thy distempered bodie? take heed of crampes and conuulsions.

Notwithstanding all physicke, and all other meanes, which God hath appointed for the recouerie of our health, yet is it generally acknowledged, that there are certaine incurable diseases. Here the Art discouers the weakenesse of her strength, and yet doth seeme to boast of the foresight of her skill: being able to effect nothing, not able to rouse vp nature, she seemes to complaine of nature, and by incurable diseases, concludes, that the wound and corruption of nature, by y strength of nature, is incurable. For if there were such a state of mans health, as could not bee annoyed with sicknesse, this were some recompence; but now all things seeme to sound corruption. We iudge of the state of our bodies by the excrements, and when our bodies are at the best, they must needs be defiled; since of the best nourishment, they make the worst excrement, and thereby doe giue a sufficient token of their owne corruption. What a miserable comfort is it to the sicke patient, to heare his Apothecarie, Surgeon, or Empirick very learnedly to discourse in the commendation of health; to tell of their former cures, of their soueraigne medicines? And yet at length forsaking their patients, to wil them to prepare themselues, for it lies not in the power

The errors of  
physicke.

Some diseases  
are incurable.



The good government among the beasts.

of Art alwaies to prescribe a remedie.

From the inward diseases, let vs come to the outward wrongs and iniuries, which we sustaine from each other, and these seeme to proceede for want of good order and government. But for the absolute government among the dumbe creatures, hee that shall well consider the common-wealth of the Bees, how strict they are within the territories of their owne Hiues; how iust they are in putting those statutes in execution, concerning idle persons and vagabonds, and likewise the employment of day labourers; what an excellent order there appeares betweene them, how great the obediēce is from the inferiour to the superiour! he will easily confesse, that the greatest temporall happinesse of man, which consists in a good government, whereby he is secured of his person and state, is much more eminently discerned amongst beasts, then amongst men. I will not onely insist in the Bee, who seemes to teach vs a platforme and president of a perfect Monarchie: it is long since agreed and concluded in Philosophie, that such disorder, such difference and disagreement, such hate and enmitie, as is between man and man, cannot bee found in the rest of the creatures, *nisi inter dispares feras*, vnlesse it be in beasts of a different kinde; and in the deserts and wilderness, where rauinous creatures doe together inhabite. Such is the prouidence and government of nature, that they liue as peaceably as wee doe, in our best walled fortresses and townes: the Citie gates though shut, yet sometimes threaten as dangerous home-bred conspiracies, as they doe secure vs of outward forraigne intiafions.

Howsoeuer, I would not taxe any law or kingdome in the world, with a conniuenie and toleration of iniustice; yet certaine it is, that as in the naturall body of man, the parts neere the heart are aptest for inflammation,



mation, and in the remote parts, nature seemes to exclude and expell all excrements and filth: so is it in the gouernment of kingdomes, it is not alwaies safest to liue neereſt the heart, nor is it ſecure to liue in the furtheſt diſtance. For euery kingdome hath his ſkirts and his borders, where the poore and pettie gouernours, liuing out of the ſight of the world, and making ſome counterfeit ſhew of their owne greatneſſe, doe ſo purloine and preſſe vpon the poore commons, that indeed their life ſeemes to be a thraldome moſt intollerable: which to a generous and braue minde, that truly values the naturall right of his owne libertie, is a yoke vnſufferable. For to liue vnder a Monarchie, is no thraldome but libertie; for in this corrupted ſtate, of the creature, there muſt be a gouernment, and this gouernment inforceth a ſubiectiō: when this ſubiectiō is onely to one, it admits of the leaſt inconuenience, and therefore is to be admitted as in nature, ſo likewise in reaſon.

But I may ſpeake it to Gods glorie, and to our owne comfort, there is no nation vnder the Sunne, wherein iuſtice hath a more free and current paſſage then heere amongſt vs. Our Commons haue their voyces and ſuffrages in making their owne lawes; matters of fact do paſſe by the verdict of a Iurie; we are not acquainted with the taxes and pillages which are vſed in other nations, and indeed we are wholly vnacquainted with our owne happineſſe, *bonum carento magis quàm fruendo agnoſcimus*. If wee did but ſee the daily practice of the Princes in Italy, and elſewhere, wee could not poſſibly be vnthankfull, to the preſent gouernment in which we liue, vnder the ſafe protection of our moſt gracious Soueraigne King *Iames*, whoſe raigne God long continue ouer vs, &c.

Now at length to ſpeake of the ſeruices and ſlaueries both of man and of beaſt, if the dumbe creatures

The ill gouernment amongſt men.

The good gouernment of this nation.



The seruices  
of man and  
beast.

seeme to performe any dutie or seruice to man, as man himselfe is not freed from the like or the same seruice, so is he tyed vnto them in a very large measure, to recompence their labours abundantly. As for example, is the horse appointed for the seruice of warre, for labour and carriage? there are likewise footmen and pikemen, as well as horsemen in Campes, and both of them aduenture alike, the horse and the rider both of them share in the danger. Now for his hire or rewarde in the field, hee shall haue his trappings and furniture very rich and costly, as the goodnesse of his mettall and courage requires: when hee returnes, his lodging or stable roome was first built by mans labour, his food was prepared by the haruest man, hee must haue continuall seruice and attendance by man; the Black Smith must waite on his heeles; and so for the rest; there is a plough man and carter, as well as there is a plough or a teame; and he that lookes to receiue any profit by the creature, must first performe his dutie and seruice to that creature. And therefore no marueile, if he takes as his owne fee belonging to his place, their cast-away garments, as skinnes, wooll, feathers, and filke from the poore worrne, which he fits and prepares for himselfe, not without great labour and industrie, which hee weares rather as a liuerie to betoken the base condition of a seruant, then as a badge or a token of his regall foueraigntie.

The seruices  
of man in ge-  
nerall.

Not only our seruice, our care and charge ouer them, but generally the flauerie of man, seemes to bee much greater then theirs. First that it is in the same kind: for if wee were to attend Angels, or some higher powers, assuredly our condition would be more tollerable; but here *homo homini lupus*, one man proues a flauie to another, and must submit himselfe to the will of a tyrant. It is not vnknowne to all trauellers, that in other countries



tries there are captiues and slaues, sold in their markets, they beare a certaine price and rate, and commonly are valued vnder the price of a horse: see what account and estimation man doth here make of himselfe; and surely hee iustly deserues this punishment to fall vpon his whole kinde, when as the Son of God was bought and sold for a price, who was indeede the price of our redemption. To leaue the barbarous nations, and to draw neerer home, it is not long since the tenure of villenage was here abolisht amongst vs (thanks to the Clergie, for it was by their intercession); and at this day wee haue prentises for yeeres, seruants in couenant, which are in the nature of slaues, poore tenants must drudge for their Landlords. And whereas it is commanded in the law of *Moses*, that thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth out the corne, the intent of the law was, that wee should bee mercifull to the dumbe beast, that he should take some profit by his owne labours: but I feare wee are more mercilesse to men. The old shepherd lame and feeble, who watcheth all night with his flocke, and indures all the stormes and the tempests, yet I feare he neuer tastes any part of his fat weathers: the poore old countrie housewife neuer sees the spending of her own crambd Capons: and thus how vnequally and vnfitly hath nature disposed of vs? some liue in their wantonnesse and superfluitie, others in their wants and their miserie, and in both you may discerne the corruption.

Suppose the creatures were in subiection to man, and did require no mutuall seruice from man, then might it be said vnto man, *Adeone es ferox, quia habes imperium in belluas*: Is this the greatest point of your glorie, that you are a shepherd, a swinheard, or an heardsman? But I pray' what subiection might this be, when all of them seeme to conspire against man? All

The wrongs  
which man su-  
staines from  
the creatures.



against one, here is no proportion of iustice. Who was euer able to preuent all dangers from the creatures? Do not the fowles of the ayre take the first fruites of his crop? Doe not the vermine purloine his substance at home? the moth abates the pride of his garments, the flye must taste of his best dish. Doe not those house-creatures, the Bee, the Waspe, and the Spider, threaten his person? and if hee comes forth, then the Beare, the Woolfe, and the Lion, stand readie prest to set vpon him with open violence. We cannot vse any creature with sufficient safetie and securitie of our liues: the Horse, though hee wants hornes, yet hee hath hoofes; though by him wee finde some ease in our trauell, yet we must take heede of his tripping. Me thinkes I see a number of tennants conspiring and laying their purses together, readie to be deposed against the iust priuiledges and customs of their Lord, or the ancient rights of the Church (if you please) for the case is alike, it is general and concernes them all; they are to intend their owne publike and common good, before the particular benefit of their Parson or Lord: and this is the condition of all the bruite beasts in respect of man.

The creatures  
may iustly con-  
spire against  
man.

But lies it not in the power of the Starre chamber, to preuent all such conspiracies and combinations of the creatures? Cannot the heauens keepe all things in a more vniforme and strict order and gouernment? No certainly, for it stands with the course of iustice, that since man hath forsaken his owne ranke, cast off his maiestie, and feeding on the carcasses of creatures, cloathed with their skinner, and their garments, doth together put on their qualities and beastly conditions, in so much that now in the time of darknesse, he walkes disguised in a strange habit; no marueile if hee bee set vpon and taken by the watch, every one suspecting him for some fugitiue: and as in particular he abuseth  
them



them and himselfe in an immoderate vse of the creatures; so in generall, all of them conspire against him, and worke their owne malice.

If any thing seemes to detract from the happinesse of beasts, in respect of man, it is because they are continually subiect to slaughter. But are men exempted from this perill? are there not as many snares to intrap vs, through the malicious practice of our enemies, either by the high way side, or in the secret and close night, sometimes with an Italian figge, sometimes by a false information in a legall proceeding, when our substance drawes on our confusion, if all this faile? Yet I pray resolve me: were it not better in the course of our liues, to be fed and pampered with the beast, y<sup>e</sup> others should take care and charge ouer vs, and at length (before the miseries of old age ouertake vs) to end our liues with a thrust or a blow, when in an instant we are bereaued of sense, of life, and of motion, then to stay and expect natures best time and leisure, when with long lingring and tedious diseases, we should be first wrackt and tormented with most exquisite torments, (for assuredly the torments of tyrants, are not so cruell, as are the torments of nature, being indeede in the more sensitiue parts) and yet after these torments, at length wee shall not faile to receiue the sentence of execution?

In regard of my profession, I would not willingly intermeddle in causes of bloud, rather let all penitent sinners and offenders against law, freely escape by the benefit of their Clergie; for wee preach mercie, and nothing but mercie, and all the mercie of the law ought to be ascribed vnto the Clergie. Yet here I can doe no lesse then relate a truth: I doe therefore call you Sergeants, Bailiffes, Constables, and Iaylers to witnesse, how many prisons are there in this one Citie? what variety of chaines, of fetters, of bolts? what dungeons and

Man is subiect  
to slaughter as  
well as the  
beasts.

Tortures pre-  
pared for man.



Weapons and  
instruments of  
warre.

and places of torments? what wrackes and strapadoes? what stockes, pillories, and houses of correction? how many kinds of death? hanging, pressing, burning, quartering. Wherefore serues your office, or the office of Sheriffes, but onely for the execution of these lawes? Wherefore carries the Magistrate, either sword or fagots before him? it is not to keepe away flyes or gnats, but that he is the instrument of God vnto vengeance: for who are all these prepared? but only for man: by whom are all these prepared? but onely by man, besides the hanging and watchfull rod of Gods anger, and the seething pot of Gods wrath.

You Captaines and Souldiers; wherefore serues your plentie of Artillerie? such roaring Canons, battering Peeces, Muskets, Petronels, Caliuers, and Pistols; these are not pot-guns for children, or haile-shot to kill a wren, or a sparrow, or birding-peeces for young men; wherefore serue so many Black-bils, Polaxes, Pikes, Lances, such Swords, Daggers, Rapiers, Poinadoes, such variety of weapons, (and the ancient glory of England) the Bowes, and the Arrowes; for I will not speake of vndermining the earth, the opening of fluces, when the earth and the water seeme to deuoure whole armies at once. I will not speake of other stratagems and snares in warre, or the great Massacres in peace; I pray can all the shambles affoord so many kniues, beetles, axes, as there are tooles and instruments prepared for man. *Iulius Caesar* alone, who certainly cannot be branded with any note of the greatest cruelty, yet in his battailes, he is said, to vanquish and kill an eleuen hundred thousand fighting men, besides his owne souldiers, who were slaine in the conquest.

From the death of man and beast, which seemes to be incident and common both to man and to beast, giue me leaue to speake one word of their funerals.

When



When I remember how the young chickens, though continually fed in the chancell, without respect, should now at length be served up in a silver dish, upon a Damaske tablecloth, with much pompe and solemnitie, to be foode for their masters; neatly handled, curiously carued, and safely laid up in their bowels; certainly I commend their funerals before mans, who is wrapt in a sheete, buried in a pit, where his carcasfe corrupts, and is made meate for the wormes. Thus behold the glorie of the world, the mirrour of nature, man for whom the whole fabricke was created, to whose vse and seruice all creatures were directed, who is a little world epitomized, an abridgement of nature; man (I say) so farre exceeding all other creatures in that high prerogative of a reasonable and immortall soule, yet in regard of the corruption of his flesh, his condition is equall, if not inferiour to the beasts of the field. It should much detract from the wisdom of nature, and almost imply a contradiction in the workes of nature, if it were not a punishment iustly inflicted on man for his sinne, that man so farre exceeding all other creatures, should notwithstanding in his end bee accounted and numbred with the basest: for so saith the Wise man, *I haue said to the grane, thou art my mother, and to the worme thou art my brother, my sister, my kinsman.*

To conclude, strange it is, that in the dumbe creatures, there should be no miserie proper and peculiar to them, wherein we doe not share with them alike, and partake in their misfortunes: but many ill accidents do daily befall vs, not onely in regard of our reasonable soule, which is proper to our selues, but likewise for our bodies, consisting of the same elements with theirs, and yet therein they haue neither part nor portion with vs, and in those miseries which both sustaine alike, mans are much greater in the same kind. And hitherto I haue  
only

The funerals  
of both.

Mans miseries  
are either of  
body or mind.



only spoken of such things, which concerne man properly in respect of his bodie, and in comparison with other creatures: now I will single him seuerally by himself, and in regard of the difference of his parts the soule and the flesh, I cannot fitter resemble him, then to the Vniuersitie and towne of Cambridge; for in one and the same person, as likewise in one and the same circuite of place, you shall finde two seuerall Corporations, two distinct Charters, different statutes, & lawes, each opposing other, each accusing other, when both may want reformation.

The miseries  
of the minde.

Selfe-homicide  
the most vnnaturall sinne.

Now let me come to the more noble part, to speake of the diseases of the minde: Is it not a sufficient miserie, to be thus molested aboue measure, by the weaknes and infirmities of the flesh, not any one creature being subiect to the like afflictions, but that there should bee sorrowes and grieuances which are proper and peculiar to the minde, first begun in the minde, and therefore only competent to man, and from the minde at length bursting forth in the bodie, either by melancholy fits, forbearance of meate, neglect of his naturall rest, as poysons inwardly takē break out into sores. And these are much more dangerous then the diseases of the flesh; insomuch that sometimes man turnes desperate, and commits the most cruell, bloudie, and vnnatural action, that possibly heart can imagine; his owne hands shed his owne blood, all his parts conspire against nature, he is the offender, and the partie offended, the Iudge, the witnesse, the Iurie, the executioner, and the sole beholder, to arraigne and condemne himselfe, and in an instant bereaued both of life and of sense, he makes himselfe wholly vncapable of repentance: Contrarie to all forme of iustice, and most contrarie to all right of nature, which abhorring and detesting blood, as in all others, so most especially in it selfe, as hauing this principle



ciple rooted and grounded in the heart, that charitie should begin with it selfe : and as man doth not giue himselfe life, nor cannot continue his life, so is hee not Lord of his life, or his death, but must patiently expect a time for his dissolution, as there was a iust time appointed for his birth and natiuitie.

The only comfort in all bodily afflictions, is the comfort of the soule to the members, the patient forbearance and hope of amendment: but if the soule her selfe be once distressed or distracted, it lies not in the power of the dull and heauie flesh, to assuage her, but she will rather increase her paine, vpbraide her, moue her to impatience, as the righteous *Iob* was strongly tempted by his wife to curse and forsake God.

Speaking of the diseases of the minde, I cannot forget, that I haue already proued the eternitie and immortallitie of the soule, and therefore am tied (as it were) by promise to iustifie my former assertions, to excuse the same soule from all sicknesses inclining to death. See here the wonderfull prouidence of God, the naturall man by force of his owne reason, acknowledgeth the immortallitie of the soule, as touching the life and continuance; and by the same reason, hee likewise acknowledgeth the sicknesses and diseases of the soule, *morbi animi, languores animi*, nothing is so commo and triuiall among the heathen Philosophers; as if I should say in effect, that nature discernes a second death, a death of sinne, though not a second birth, a generation to righteousness; to the one, nature is inclined, and verily fitly disposed, and therefore sets it before her owne eyes; in the other, nature is defectiue, and no way prepares man, and therefore as blindfold, she cannot behold it; our inward corruption leades vs to sinne, only sanctifying grace recalles vs from sinne: man here rests vpon the face of the earth, heauen is aboue, hell is beneath;

The flesh increaseth the miseries of the minde.

The diseases of the minde may consist together with the immortallitie of the soule.



The diseases  
of the minde  
are not easily  
discovered.

neath; set vp a ladder, and he shall hardly climbe; giue him wings, it will not auaille him; doe but open a pit, and he shall fall with great ease, though hee finde little ease in his fall.

In discovering the diseases of the minde, I will tell you a greater miserie: Suppose that any one man should turne franticke in a hot burning feauer, and should perswade himselfe, that his violent and vnnaturall heate, did only proceed from his own strength of nature; then he begins to buffet his keepers, and will not lie still in his bed: here is a double cause of griefe, not so much for his sicknes, as for his error and impatiencie. Thus it befals many, that are sicke in their minde, who glorie and boast in their vices, making their own shame, their commendation, either supposing all others to bee like vnto them, and sanctitie to consist only in the outward appearance; or else condemning all others, they will maintaine their own practice, *Populus me sibi let, at mihi plando*: I care not what the poore people say of me, (quoth the Vsurer) my substance shall vphold me, when they goe a begging. The adulterous man pleaseth himselfe with vncleannesse, and begins to doubt, whether a naturall act can be a sinne against nature. The glutton will make strong arguments in defence of his riot: Wherefore should nature supplie such plentifull provision, if he might not take it in abundance. If he cannot wholly excuse himselfe, yet he will lessen his sinne, *nihil non mentitur iniquitas sibi*. Whereas vertue is placed betweene the extreames, vices doe now cluster together in such multitudes and throngs, that vertue is either prest to death, or wholly excluded; vertue no longer appearing, vices sit in the throne, and vsurpe the chaire of estate.

On the contrarie, vertue is sometimes reputed for vice, and so loseth a great part of her happinesse, which consists



## Part. 2. The fall of Man.

111

consists in due esteeme and reputation, besides her attractive power, to draw all others to the imitation of her selfe. The most reuerend Fathers of the Church haue been taxed with ambition, by the rude and base multitude; the most strict, mortified and seuerer men, haue been charged with a deepe hypocrisie and dissimulation; the most magnificent and bountifull, with popularitie and wastfulness; the most vpright and sincere in iustice, with vaine glorie and pride. Herein as I doe excuse the innocencie of one, so I doe condemne the corruption of many, they looking thorough painted glasses, their own hearts being defiled, cannot rightly iudge of the colours.

Hitherto we seeme to doubt of the diseases: now at length if we conclude in generall, that vertue is vertue, that sinne is sinne, and vice is vice; then here is a second miserie, that whereas all bodily diseases doe suddenly discover themselves by their symptoms, and signes, and inforce the sick patient to confesse his owne griefe; onely the diseases of the minde (as are the inward thoughts of the heart) they are secret, they haue learned the language of equiuocation, they walke disguised, and will neuer acknowledge themselves to bee themselves: for that euill spirit, which hath taken away shame in the sinne, hath put a shame in the confession of sinne. The proud man feares nothing so much, as lest he should abase himselfe with too much humilitie; charge him with pride, and hee will make bitter inuectiues against it; then he begins to apologize for himselfe, how curteous and kinde he is in his entertainment, how affable: thus still he deceiueh himselfe, for therein consisteth his pride. And so for al others the diseases of the mind, they are not open assaults, but priuie conspiracies, and therefore are secret, such as will endure the wrack, before they will discover themselves, or their own ends.

If

Vertue is sometimes reputed for vice.

No man will confesse himselfe vicious.



Many vertues  
are spoyled  
with one vice.

*to be in a man  
fermented.*

If the diseases once appeare and are made manifest, sometimes there fall out a pitifull and a lamentable accident. I haue seene many vertues resident in one heart, like many Jewels, all contained in one casket, and yet all of them tainted, deiected and cleane cast downe with one vice. An excellent wit, accompanied with honest and faire conditions, attended on with comelinesse and beautie of members; yet through a tractable nature, is easily led away with ill companie, and all his good parts are ouerwhelmed with a deluge of drunkenesse. The braue courage and resolution, which leaues nothing vnattempted that may tend to the seruice and honour of his countrie; yet sometimes is enraged, set on fire, and all his good qualities are burnt and consumed with the furie of his own lust. The great Clerke with his night-watchings and studies, pining himselfe, not vnlike his owne taper, where the head wasteth the whole body, in lightning others, he consumes himselfe, who indeed doth best deserue both of Church and of State; laying the foundations of truth and pietie in the Church, and building vp the walles of ciuilitie and obedience in the State; yet sometimes with a fond affectation of singularitie, he makes himselfe ridiculous. Not to speake of any single encounter of vertue to vice, many vertues knit and combined together, may be foyled, deiected, and cleane cast downe with one vice: sometimes they are choked vp with gluttonie, incombred with couetousnesse, grow rustie and dustie, with sloth swolne and puffed vp with pride, cancard with enuie, stretched vpon the racke of ambition, insnared with the hooke of blinde fancie, and selfe-conceited opinion; if but a sparke of choller or furie fall on the stubble, it will inflame all: and thus one flye serues to infect a whole pot of sweete oyntment.

For the seuerall diseases of the minde, compare them



to the sicknesses of the body: Pride seemes to be an inordinate swelling, like a dropie, which with wind, waters, or ill humours, puffes vp the flesh; for good blood, which serues for our strength, and our nourishment, will containe it selfe within his owne bounds. Wrath is like a plurisie, when the heart and the lites are all on a fire, nothing can quench it, nothing can assuage it, but the effusion of blood; then wee begin to be mercilesse and cruell, and if the Sunne goe downe in our wrath, then is our case desperate; the criticall houre is dangerous, for if it will endure the light, it will neuer flie in the darknesse. Lust is like a burning feuer, which with shaking fits, puts man into diuers inordinate passions, and giues him the shape of a beast; for beasts doe naturally desire the propagation of their owne kinde, and in their kinde the eternising of themselves: but man should looke to the immortality of his soule, the resurrection of his flesh; which together with Gods law, his owne conscience, and the vncleannesse of sinne, should serue to bridle his lust. Enuie is as a corrosiue, or as a worme bred in the spleene, which consumeth it selfe, in maligning others; it feedeth not on the best, but on the worst things in nature, and so at length bursteth it selfe with his own poyson. Sloth seemes as a lethargie, which brings man to a dead sleepe; it buries him vp quicke and aliue, it consists onely of earth, stands im-moueable, without any sparke of fire; here is the dullnesse of the flesh, without the agilitie of the spirit; here is a carcasse of man, without any vse of his limbes or his members.

Suppose there were some innocent men not tainted with these vices; then must you conceiue that I do not speake of the persons, but of the nature in generall: for I will not dispute how powerfull in the heart of man, is the working of Gods spirit; but sure it is, that such vi-

*auaritia potius sibi uis  
st, dropi simulatur*

*plurimam hanc est*

The diseases of  
the minde are  
compared to  
the diseases of  
the body.

*Libido febris*

*invidia Corrodens*

*languis lethargia*

All men incli-  
ned to vice.



ces there are, some in some persons, and al in the whole kinde; for otherwise we could not haue knowne them, wee could not haue discovered them: the suspicious minde of man could not haue raised such slanderous and false accusations against himselfe, without some ground-worke of truth. These are no exotick or foraine drugges, but weedes growing in our owne gardens, issuing from the corrupted roote of our nature: sometimes in one man you shall obserue them in full number and plentie, the mysterie of iniquitie shadowed in the vaile of our flesh; and in the most sanctified man, you shall discerne an inclination to sinne.

The punish-  
ment of vice.

If there were no other punishment of vice, but vice it selfe, this were sufficient; for nature hath imprinted in euery man a hate and detestation of sinne: but God in his iustice, as he hath framed man of a soule and of a bodie, and both of them doe mutually receiue together their portion of ioy, or of sorrow; so by an especiall ordinance God hath decreed, that the vices of the one, should burst forth to the miseries of the other. The young drunkard shall in time lament, the dropsie and palsie to preuent his age; surfeits shall follow riots, the gowre shall ouertake idlenesse: the lustfull gallant shall in time perceiue, that a French disease hath disfigured his beautie, and weakened his bones. Euery disease of the minde hath a proportionable disease of the bodie: if thou regardest not the staines in the soule, yet thou shalt finde the smart in thy flesh, and therefore in both acknowledge the corruption of thy nature.

Notwithstanding the punishment of sinne, and the vncleannesse of sinne, yet I will spare my selfe this labour, to speake of mans seuerall vices. For howsoeuer they are generally acknowledged, as the diseases of the minde, seeing that mans owne reason, and his naturall instinct, will therein testifie against himselfe, and there-  
fore



fore they should be the greatest torments to nature: for corrupted nature cannot sleep securely, but for her own punishment discernes her owne corruption. Yet some there are, who delight in vncleannesse, like swine, wallowing in the mire; and here is a miserie of all miseries the greatest, that I should now at length be inforced, to make a difference betweene the disease and the miserie. I will therefore passe over all the diseases of y<sup>e</sup> mind, the whole number and rable of vices, which are the strongest, the most forcible and pregnant arguments to proue our inbred corruption. For as it is in trees and in plants, so likewise in man, if any one leafe doe miscarry, assuredly the roote is vnfound; the least vice argues nature corrupted, but I will generally tye my selfe to those qualities which are common to all, wherein there is no appearance of delight, and therein shall appeare our wretched condition.

It hath pleased God for the continuall memorie of mans first offence, still to permit in man, an inordinate desire of knowledge, notwithstanding his naturall ignorance. The first thing which the states-man requires, not without his great labour, his charge and his perill, is to haue iust notice and true intelligence; the vulgar people runne wandring after newes, they will not forbear to speake; though they forfeit their long eares, they will abuse their licentious tongues: the young Student will make tapers of his owne marrow, and together with his oyle spend his own flesh, and pine himselfe with his night-labours, to pricke into the secrecies and mysteries of nature. Thus is the vnderstanding perplexed and tormented with his owne error; and assuredly to a generous and braue minde, the bondage of Egypt is not so intollerable, as is the captiuitie of ignorance. Who can patiently endure, that the soule being quick sighted and piercing, for want of perspective glasses,

All wil not acknowledge the miserie of sin.

The torture of ignorance in the vnderstanding.



glasses, should be imprisoned within the bounds of our sense, mewed vp in a darke dungeon of blindness; here is the torture of error: but if once we escape, if once we approach to the light, then followes the curiositie of knowledge, wee are dazled with too much light; and being not able to behold the Sunne, still wee fasten our eyes, till at length the spirits are dissolued, and wee fall againe into darkness.

The torture of  
expectation in  
the will.

From the error in the vnderstanding, let vs come to the will in the actions. Strange it is, that there should be no cōformity in man, the vnderstanding or thoughts doe not alwaies accompanie the speech, or the gesture. The will most commonly ouertakes the actions, and then are we tortured with long lingring hope, and expectation; we know not how to proceed by degrees, as nature prescribes vs a rule in all her actions: but wee must haue our leaps and our skippings, and cannot obserue an equalitie in our proceedings. The young heire will not endure to stay the respite and leisure of others, for his inheritance, but he will sell his state in reuerſion. The Student no sooner looks on the title, but presently turnes to the Index: wee seeme like poſts in our iourney, and expect a like speedie passage for our sight and our flight. Thus in attaining perfection, the minde is stretched out vpon the rack of expectatiō, and sometimes the heate of our desire is abated, before things come to the ripenesse. As if in the spring wee should long for the fruites of the haruest, when in the summer season, either wee forget our owne longing, or hauing tasted the fruites, the sweetnesse seemes to bee already past, and spent in the expectation.

Suppose that the vnderstanding either not posselt with error, or not hastening to be resolved, should not torment it selfe with expectation; nor the will should be disquieted by prolonging her hopes, but that the  
one



one were enlightened with true wisdom, and the other settled with constant and quiet affections; then behold the foresight and knowledge of such evils, as may daily befall vs, strikes vs with terrour and fearfulness. Haue I escaped one danger? I confesse mine own merits, I acknowledge thy mercy sweet Iesu; what hath thy wisdom reserved in the second place to assault me?

Me thinkes, I see the state and condition of euery man, liuely set forth in the first Chapter of *Iob*: Where-soeuer, or howsoeuer the wind blowes, from any quarter of the world, it still serues to bring vs some heauie ridings, concerning our selues, our health, our children, our kindred, our substance, our seruants: all are subiect to shipwracke, euery thing falles to decay; and must be repaired, not with restitution, but with patience and long suffering. See you not the Merchant, how carefull he is, twice euery day to meete at the Burse? It is to enquire what ill newes hath befallen him: poore wretched man, that should be thus subiect to so many ill accidents! The very thought and feare of many evils doe perplexe the mind as much in effect, as doth the sustaining of any one in particular: for neither of them doe immediately touch the reasonable soule, and both of them are alike apprehended in the vnderstanding; and it is the vnderstanding, which is onely capable of ioy, or of sorrow.

Suppose a man to bee carelesse and dissolute of his worldly estate; or suppose his estate to be such, and so great, that hee feares no casualties or dangers, *Extra fortune iactum*. If the Sunne and the Moone doe arise (quoth the Vsurer) my daies of payment will come; if the Common Law of England stand in force, I haue him fast bound in a statute or recognizance. Heere is good security I confesse: but thou foole, this night thy

The preuision  
of euill.

That we stand  
in danger of  
many euils.

The fearfulness  
of death.

*Extra fortune iactum*



The Good of  
others depen-  
ding vpon  
our life.

soule shall be taken from thee; where are thy goods, where is thy substance? Suppose thy honour or wealth should encrease, yet thy life (which is the foundation to support all the rest, whereby thou art made capable of the rest of thy blessings) daily decreaseth; euery day thou lecest a day of thine age; and in euery moment, thou standest in feare of a sudden death: *O mors, quàm amara est memoria tua homini pacem habenti in substantiis suis?* O death, how bitter is thy memorie, to him that reposeth trust in his owne wealth?

If man were sufficiently prepared to die, and that he did not respect the shortnesse of his owne daies, in hope of a better world to succeed; yet the very thought and commiseration of others (whose standing or falling, depends vpon his life or his death) would greatly perplexe him. The poore husband sitting at meate, accompanied with his louing and beautifull wife, (who indeed is the ornament of his table, and like a fruitfull vine vpon the walles of his house, together with all his hopefull children, like Oliue branches round about his table) in the middest of his mirth and feasting, begins to consider, what if God should suddenly take me away, as the least crumme heere is able to choake me? what should become of my fatherlesse children? who should take thought of my desolate wife? Alas poore widow; alas poore orphants! I haue heere brought you into a miserable world; and if I should now forsake you, better it were that the same earth should together intumbe vs. Men are deceitfull, kindred are negligent, friends are forgetfull; I know not to whose custodie and charge I might safely commit you. My state is very vnsetled, my Testament not made, for I know not how God may encrease my charge, or daily alter my state; I know not whether a posthumous child may succeed me: alas poore widow, alas

*Sic filius posthumus filius Bruti*



alas poore orphants! to God I commit my soule, to the earth of his sanctuarie, I commit mine owne body; and for the remainder of my flesh, part of my selfe, my deare wife, together with the fruits of my loynes, my sonnes and my daughters, as branches budding from a decayed root, I leaue you to Gods safe custodie and protection. Hee that brought vs together, coupled vs in marriage, and shall then separate vs by my naturall death, bee an husband to my desolate and forsaken wife: he that gaue me my children, and then shall take me from them, be a father to the fatherlesse. Heere indeed is ioy to the Christian man, but a cold comfort to the naturall man, whose heart is full of distrust and infidelity.

I know not how other men may stand affected to death; but in truth this very thought doth more perplexe me, then death it selfe (which thought I should reserue as my daily meditation, vpon my first approach into my naked bed) poore wretched man that I am! when at length, without strength, without reason or sense, hauing no power of my selfe, no vse of my limbs or my members, when I shall lie in the pangs and agonie of death; when my friends and acquaintance shall leaue me, my little substance forsake mee; when mine owne flesh shall be spent and consumed, and nothing shall remaine but skinned and the bones; when euery part is tortured with griefe, the soft bed seemes hard to my wearisome limbes; when mine eyes grow heauie, my breath noysome, my heart faint; then behold I shall enter a combate (an impotent souldier I confesse) and yet not a single combate; but here shall stand the vgliness and multitude of my sinnes, together with an exact remembrance, and the ripping vp of the whole course of my life, there the palenesse of death, the vncertainty of my future abode and habitation; then the

The feare of  
hell and dam-  
nation.



feare of Gods iudgements shall terrifie me; the thought of hell fire and damnation shall amaze mee, to see my selfe thus forsaken and destitute. And notwithstanding my naturall inclination and desire of life, yet to be hurried and carried away with the streame of the time; no respite or leisure shall be allowed me; my houre-glasse is runne, and of all my liues labour and trauell I shall receiue no portion, onely my sinne shall accompanie me, and shall attend mee to Iudgement; what shall it profit me to win the whole world, if I lose mine owne soule? or who shall deliuer me from this body of sin? Of whom should I expect comfort and succour, but of thee (O Lord) thou that died'st for my sinnes, and rose againe for my iustification? Iesu thou sonne of *Mary*, Iesu thou sonne of *Dauid*, Iesu thou sonne of God; thou Lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon me; for thou art my God, my Sauour, my Iudge in whom I doe trust; thou art my Aduocate with the Father, not to pleade my right, but in thy pleading to purchase my right; for thou art the propitiation for my sinnes.

The creatures  
looke onely to  
the present.

If there were any ioy or contentment here in this life, the dumbe creatures, who onely looke to the present, should receiue a farre greater measure and portion then man. Who hauing a presaging minde, and well considering that sorrowes shall ouertake the greātest mirth, *extrema gaudij luctus occupat*: setting before his owne eyes the frailty, shortnesse, and vncertainty of his life; and that in death, his honour, his wealth, and all his delights must forsake him, torments himselfe with thought and expectation hereof, before the sentence be past, or the blow stricken: like poore prisoners, who are more then halfe dead, before the Iudges approach. And hitherto hath appeared our torments consisting onely in the foresight, the fearfulnessse and preuention



preuention of euill: now in the present sustaining thereof, I shall not need to speake of the torture.

It may seeme to make for natures perfection, that a man knowes not how to forget; the more hee striues to forget, the faster it stickes in the braine; the more he desires to blot out, it makes the greater impressiō; like the bird which is insnared with the lime-twigges, the more it struggles, the surer it is held. And this truly I doe ascribe to the infinite mercy of God: for seeing man is by condition sinfull; therefore according to the condition of his nature, hee should suruay and view his owne actions, both for his repentance, and for his amendment. And being not able to forget, hee might much better conceiue, that there is no forgetfulnesse with God; and therefore still hee stands accountable, he is not discharged, nor cannot procure his *quietus est*, out of Gods Exchequer; and therefore must alwaies be ready to giue an account of his stewardship.

From this tenacitie of memorie, together with his discoursiue reason, proceeds such a sorrow, that still he thinkes hee is tortured; hee cannot endure to see the place of his torment, hee hates the instruments, together with their first occasion; and his memory serues him much better for sorrow, then for any other subiect of what nature soeuer. The scholler when he hath forgotten all his lessons, together with his play-daies, and sports at schoole, yet still hee remembers the least correction: as the vessell longest retaines an ill fauour; so you shall not easily release the mind of sorrow, though the torture be past.

It should seeme, that the soule being eternall in her selfe, desires to make all things eternall, or at least to prolong their continuance; and being naturally more enclined vnto sorrow then vnto ioy, according to her iust merits and deserts, being therein conuincd by the

*art. 2. obliuio nescit  
memoria dicitur*  
Man reflects  
vpon his owne  
actions.

The remem-  
brance of euil.

*fauour and within durst  
the shippe do follow  
to premed nature write  
in lasting of the*

The appli-  
cation.



Calamities are  
like Serpents.

His passions  
tend to his  
sorrow.

the euident prooffe of her owne conscience, ſhee laies vp heere for her ſelfe, a treasure of ſorrow, as willingly vndertaking a ſtate of mortification and penance, that ſeeing and feeling the heauie rod of Gods anger, ſhe might ſafely and ſecurely eſcape the ſeething pot of his wrath.

Thus our daily calamities ſeeme to haue the nature of ſerpents, whoſe poyſon conſiſts in the fore parts, and in the hinder parts they ſpit out poyſon before they can creepe; and this appeares by our fearfulneſſe and expectation of euill: they carrie poyſon in their taile and leaue it behind them; and this appeares by the ſtrong apprehenſion of the ſorrow paſt, which renews mans griefe, when the griefe is declining. In ſo much that I haue knowne diuers ſuddenly to faint, and to be much perplexed, calling to minde thoſe dangers, which they haue already ſafely and ſecurely eſcaped, and this is as proper and peculiar to man, as is his reaſonable ſoule.

From the powers and faculties of mans minde, I will come to his paſſions; doe not all theſe tend to his ſorrow? Loue is accompanied with ielouſies, ſuſpitions, and hate; hope breeds enuie, feares and vexations; e- uery delight leaues griefe and remorse behinde it. If a tragedie were made of all the ſeuerall paſſions of man, which indeed are like ſo many factions or furies in the State; all banding and trouping, hauing both their fauorites and their opposites; aſſuredly it would proue the moſt cruell and bloodie tragedie that euer paſt betweene tyrants, eſpecially conſidering, that they are the houſhold ſeruants of man: and in a priuat family (much more in one perſon) there ſhould bee the moſt perfect and beſt Monarchicall gouernment.

Not to ſpeake, how eaſily man is moued to theſe paſſions, or how theſe paſſions ſtand in oppoſition to  
each



each other: how they doe degenerate betweene themselves, looke to the fruites and effects of each passion, and you shall easily discern the torment. As for example, immoderate loue alwaies begets the greatest neglect and contempt; and being once prouoked, it turnes to the deadliest hate. As out of the most wholesome hearbs you may extract the worst poyson: so in loue, if the spirits begin once to euaporate, and the fire decline by degrees, there will follow such a coldnesse, such a petrification, as that the immoderate loue will turne to immoderate hate. And herein I doe acknowledge the wonderfull workes of Gods prouidence; for seeing that this totall and excessiue loue, with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our soule, is only due vnto God, *fecisti cor nostrum (domine) propter te, & inquietum est cor nostrum, donec veniat ad te*: if therefore man shall diuert the course, turne the streame of his loue, and wholly surrender it vnto the creature; then hath God ordained, that such loue being vniustly imparted, should be iustly recompensed with hate.

I shall not heere need to insist in the variety of passions; take any one of the seuerally by it selfe: Doth not choller exceedingly disquiet man, shortens his dayes, occasioneth many diseases, and sometimes prouokes man to attempt such a rash and headie action, as that in the whole course of his life following, he shall neuer be able to make any due recompence or satisfaction? Take the melancholie man, do not his owne thoughts, dreames and fantasies exceedingly torment him? can he containe his owne imaginations? but as if wee had not sufficient outward cause of sorrow, he frames monsters to himselfe, and these proue fearfull and horrid; in so much, that his haire stands vpright, and a cold sweat possesseth his limbes; when no outward danger appeares, then he is frighted with his owne thoughts; he

How the passions doe degenerate.

How euery passion torments it selfe.



hee sees armies fighting together, and thinkes hee is haunted with spirits, and then hee cries out for helpe; we are willing & ready to affoord it, but we know not where to apply it, for y<sup>e</sup> disease consists in the phantasie. Good counsell is the best helpe, but alas he is vncapable of counsell! he complains that his head is all made of glasse, that hee fees his heart now melting away like waxe, that mice are now eating and consuming his bowels. Not much vnlike the simple pure sectaries of our age, who in the point of the Eucharist, beleue things to be, because they beleue them: *Crede quod est, & est; crede quod habes, & habes*: the body is there truly and really present, because they apprehend it so by faith. O the wonderfull power of their faith! O the excellent curiosity of their wits, which hath almost brought them to a fit of a phrensie!

And it is the more to bee lamented, that the best wits should bee most subiect to these fits; and in the most noble and deepest vnderstandings, you shall most easily discern some tokens and signes of melancholie. But you will say, that these are therefore the lesse, because they consist in the phansie: nay rather much greater, for it is not the flesh, but the mind which is capable of grieve and of sorrow; the mind conceiuing them as true, shee is alike affected therewith, as if they were true indeed. For all contentment consists in the minde, and according to the apprehension, thereafter follows the contentment: but the iudgement, together with the dignitie of the reasonable soule, seemes to bee exceedingly disparaged; as boasting of light, and yet afraid of her shadow. So that if with much labour, and good persuation, you shall recall this wandering man; it is to be feared, that for euer he will bee ashamed of himselfe to thinke of his errour; and will hide himselfe in sobriety, hauing laid himselfe open with his madnesse

Melancholie  
fits.



madnesse and follie.

Not in himselfe alone shall man finde the fruites of these turbulent passions; but being a sociable creature, you shall obserue how they daily burst forth in his actions and conuersation among men. If two cholericke men should conuerse together, you might thinke that fire and brimstone consuming all others, would likewise at length deuoure themselves. Suppose that the cholericke and melancholie should enter a league, you might as well conceiue that the two extreame elements, the fire and the earth, should moue together in one sphere. The melancholie with the sanguine can haue no more affinity betweene themselves, then dancing with mourning, or feasting with fasting. If melancholy bee coupled with melancholy, assuredly at length there will follow a *gangrena*, they will putrefie with sorrow and discontentment. From this variety of temper and passions, you would wonder at the great hate and enmity betweene men; sometimes betweene Nations. The Spanish grauity and staiednesse, seemes to neglect and contemne the French leuity and complements; the fine and wittie Italian, cannot endure the dulnesse & homelinesse of the Dutch Nation: sometimes naturall affection cannot assuage these passions. From hence ariseth the disagreement and iarres between the old father, & the young Gallant his sonne; for there are different inclinations, proper to mens different complexions, and ages.

Youth strong in body, wanting true wisdom and discretion to guide his owne strength; age ripe in iudgement and true wisdom, but hauing neither power nor ability to put her owne projects in execution. From hence obserue the different inclination of both; the young man (not considering the blessing and plenty of peace, or the necessarie provision for warre, or the danger

How passions are, in respect of others.

The seuerall dispositions of men.



danger and casualtie of battell), desires nothing more then the noyse of the drumme, or the sound of the trumpet; whereas the old counseller that intends nothing but safety, and values other mens labours, according to the weakenesse of his owne crasie body, will accept of peace vpon any the basest conditions. Thus hath God set a distance or difference, betweene the powers of the body, and the faculties of the soule: whether it were to denie all men an absolute perfection in both, so to abate the pride of our nature; or else to tie all men together in a mutuall bond of loue, by a necessitie of each others helpe, that the blind might carrie the lame, and the lame might direct the blind in his passage. Well, howsoeuer, sure it doth argue, that there is some antipathie and disproportion betweene the flesh and the spirit, which being coupled together in marriage, and neither of them well able to subsist and liue of himselfe, and both of them adding luster and beauty to each other; assuredly this enmitie hath fallen, since the first contract or solemnization of mariage.

Man being a sociable creature, what is there in this world, which he should esteeme more then his credit and reputation among men. Pride was the first sinne of man, and euery man is naturally enclined vnto pride, as well knowing the dignitie of his condition, and his height aboue other creatures; and truly in right reason a generous and noble minde, without spot of basenesse is most commendable. For there are degrees of men, and euery man in his owne place should bee most respectiue of his fame and report; then what a corrosiue were it to a vertuous and noble minde, to sustaine wrongs, iniuries, reproches, contumelies most vnderstandedly. Notwithstanding many mens great deserts and endeauours, yet shall they neuer attaine the loue and good will of the people; for the multitude, *bellum mul-*

*torum*

Man must  
sustaine re-  
proches.



*torum capitum*, like one vnreasonable creature with many heads, hath herein the condition of dogs, alwaies to barke at those whom they know not; and where one whelp begins, all the rest will follow the crie: Seldome shall you see any man dejected and cast downe, whom they doe not instantly persecute and tread vnder their feete, insulting vpon those who cannot resist; and being like patient Asses, to those who scourge, abuse, and delude them, and thus they are iustly recompensed for their malice and follie.

Man being a sociable creature, hee carries a greater reference and relation to others: and therefore not in our selues alone, not in our selues, are the causes of our griefe; but as if we were stubble, very apt for combustion, euery outward sparke serues to inflame vs. See, how the poore mother laments for her gracelesse and dissolute child! how the father bewailes the losse of his daughter, which without his counsell or priuitie hath matched her selfe (by the practice of his owne seruants) to a knaue and an ynthrif! how the parents mourne for the death of their eldest and most hopefull sonne! how the vnkle is perplexed with thought of the poore orphants committed to his trust! how the children finde want of their parents, forsaken and desolate, left to the wide world, and to Gods onely protection! the comfortlesse widow teares her owne haire, when shee thinkes of her deare husband! the whole kindred and family groane to see the waste of woods, and the ruines of that ancient house, from whence they are all descended; but now fallen into decay by wardship, or ill husbandrie; if any one of the stocke doe miscarrie, the shame shall be imputed to all. Not vnlike the state of the Citizens, if one breakes, others must crack; there must be a fellow-feeling of the blow: how happy are they whose state is whole, entire and absolute within them-

Mans sorrow  
and miserie  
for others.



The griefe of  
compassion.

themselves? and this is the condition of dumbe creatures, in respect of man.

Suppose any man were freed from these annoyances, as indeed few there are, whom neither kindred, nor friends, nor followers did any way grieue or molest; yet in the streetes or high way side, (we shall not need to visite the Spittles, or Hospitals) how many lame, how many blinde, some vpon crutches, some vpon pallets? what broken bones, maimed limbes, seared armes, mangled legges, vlcerous heads, scortched flesh; some without chinnes, some without noses, some without hands to receiue, or feete to follow, yet still begging your almes: Will you not vouchsafe to behold them? Behold they shall waite and attend vpon you, at your owne door; eiseither you must put on hardnesse, and despise your owne flesh, or otherwise you must melt in compassion.

A passage from  
the miseries of  
the creatures  
to the vani-  
ties.

You may thinke that I am driuen to some great exigent, that now at length I should speake of the outcast of men; as if I were to visite some Hospitals, or to make a diligent search or inquisition for all those miserable creatures, in whom the frailties and infirmities of our flesh doe most eminently appeare. But in truth I haue here onely spoken of them, as the present occasion did offer it selfe; I met them in the streete, or by the high way side, and therefore I will slightly passe by them, and I will hasten to ouertake whole mankind; whom I will intangle in one common depth of our miseries, I will acquit none from the highest to the lowest. And because hitherto I might seeme to haue sunke to the bottom, I will therefore now recall my selfe, and leauing such miserable states of men, I will runne ouer all those actions, and qualities, wherein our pleasure may seeme to consist; or wherein there may seeme to be any appearance of happinesse, and therein shall appeare our miserie



rie and wretched condition.

The qualities I will thus diuide: They are such as either are in our selues: 1. as are the gifts of the bodie, the beautie and comelinesse of parts: 2. or the gifts of the minde, as profound learning and true wisdom; or else they are such as stand in relation to others, and outwardly concerne vs, 3. either in our possessions, wherein I will speake of our wealth and abundance, 4. or in our esteeme and reputation among men, wherein I will speake of our honour: 5. or in our actions, our pastimes and sports, wherein I will speake of our pleasures.

First for beautie, for it appears first to the sight, and carries the best glosse: the fairest beautie and complexion, though proudest of her selfe, yet she neuer enioyes her selfe; and if in a glasse onely by way of reflection, yet she presently forgets her selfe: it serues as a white garment aptest for soile, and in old age proues the most wrinkled and withered. If a Feuer (but for a few daies) possesse a faire Ladie, then you shall best iudge of her complexion; a pale countenance, hollow eyes, leane cheekes, fur'd mouth, panting breath, slow speech, weake and trembling ioynts; all which could hardly allure or entice her fond wooer. When beautie is at the best, yet if it bee not adorned and set forth with Iewels, with filkes, with colours, which rich and costly attires; if it were naked and desolate, clad in homely weedes, it would hardly moue thy affection; and when thou beholdest it at the best, thou seest but onely the outside, for beautie is but skinne-deepe: if thou couldest discern the vncleane maw, the noysome bowels, the vnsauourie parts, thou wouldest finde it a painted sepulcher. But suppose the face were besmeared with bloud, thou couldest not endure the sight: suppose it lay rotten in the graue, as one day it shall, and then, goe young man, please thine owne fancie, re-

K

ioyce

Wherein ioy  
may seeme to  
consist.

A looking  
glasse for beau-  
tie.



Beauty is  
troublesome.

ioyce with the wife of thy youth, see how louing and amiable she lookes. This was the Hermites practise to abate the heate of his lust, and let it serue for thy example and imitation.

In truth I doe much pitie many, who seeme neither to regard their owne ease, nor their warm'th, so that they may adorne their owne beautie; which beautie might aswell bee adorned with their ease, with their warm'th, not indangering their health, not indamaging their bodies, if it stood with the fashion and condition of the times. How costly, how chargeable, how troublesome is their beautie vnto them? *dum comūtur, dum spectuntur, annus est*: all their whole time must bee spent in their dressing. You may assoone furnish an armie, as supplie all their trickets and toyes; there are more fashions extant, then there is varietie in nature; the French attire, the Spanish band, the Dutch coller, the Flemish bodies, you would wonder of what countrie or nation they were, &c. What an excellent sight it is, to see the old mother Matron-like, full of wrinkles and withered, leading the way, (as it were to the graue) but the young daughter following her, a faire damosell of a fresh and a beautifull colour, and yet both of them consisting of the same flesh; like one and the same tree, rugged and harsh in the rinde or the barke, but faire and delicious in the fruite, and both take sappe from the same roote, and both together tend to corruption?

From the beautie and comelineffe of members, let vs come to the inward light and beames of the vnderstanding: The world is a Sophister, and frames a fallacie, *à bene compositis ad male diuisa*, making a strange difference and separation betweene true wisdom and learning: whereas indeed there is no difference at all, but they are one and the same facultie; wisdom is learning,



learning, and learning is wisdom; and he that found out this distinction between them, was indeed an enemy to learning, and in himselfe the sonne of ignorance. Learning (I confesse) of it selfe is eleuated above the vulgar capacitie, otherwise it should not require mens studies and labours; but being tempered with discretion, and experience, may well bee accommodated, and applied to many good vses, even in the meanest capacitie. For certaine it is, that there is no true learning, which is not grounded in nature; neither can it receiue any iust rule and direction, but only from nature (for Grammar is only a step or an entrance to learning): he that shall doubt of the wisdom of nature, must needs confesse himselfe an ignorant foole. I confesse, that the great Clerke may be ignorant of the meanest and basest things; or happilie of their price, their vse or valuation: doth this any way disparage his wisdom, his learning, his iudgment? As if a priuie Counsellor should therefore be reputed an vnwise man, because he hath no skill in husbandrie and tillage; when his leisure will not serue him to intend such drudgerie. But for this time, rather then I would any way hinder my intent, I will willingly grant it; let there be a difference, and such a difference as Scripture reports; a wisdom in their owne generation, a worldly wisdom, a serpentine wisdom, differing from the wisdom of schooles. Now for this wisdom, see how she is defective in her owne kinde, and there wanting, wherein she desires to be most perfect.

Great wits breed melancholy thoughts, and serue rather to stirre vp ielousies and feares, then to giue courage and resolution: the multiplicite of their projects hinders their actions, and sometimes the wit contents it selfe with a vaine speculation of his owne plots, together with an idle discourse, what would be done, or

Learning and  
wisdom can  
admit no difference  
between  
themselves.





The misery of  
great wits.

could bee done, or should bee done, when nothing is done to the purpose. And this I conceiue to bee the cause, why men of the deepest vnderstanding, haue not alwaies the best successe in the State; not only because they are supprest by an higher power, which hauing already attained to the top, desires by al possible meanes to secure it selfe: but in their actions intending and desiring to auoid all casualtie and chance (which is so necessarie and incident to our fraile condition, as that it cannot be auoided) desiring to build vpon sure grounds, they spend their whole time, in deliberation, and consultation, and chuse rather to manage their owne priuate estates, then to commit themselves to the stage of this world, to the fortune and varietie of times. And hence it is, that seldome or neuer they performe or attempt any great and honourable worke; and the wits themselves are so dangerous, as that they giue men occasion rather to feare and to distrust their practises, then to relie vpon their counsels and directions. In so much that sometimes it is a speciall point of wisdom to conceale it selfe; as he that acts the foole in a Comedie, is commonly the wisest fellow in the companie: for you shall obserue, that the meane capacitie giues greater hearts ease, more contentment, liues more plentifully, and increaseth his meanes much better, then the deep vnderstanding; who either will attempt nothing, or not taking the ordinary course, most vsually failes in his purposes. Where there is a little want of braine, there you shall find the truest ioy; for it is a great point of happinesse not to vnderstand his owne grieve. To daunce about May-poles, to skip ouer bon-fires, heere was the old countrie sport; and here is the truest mirth, for there is no true mirth, without some mixture of folie. Serious & waightie thoughts are a great hindrance to mirth; and great wits as they are alwaies ingendring,



dring, so stand they alwaies in feare and in ieopardie, the battaile and combat of wits being no lesse bloodie, then that of the sword: whereas honest plaine men protect themselves with their owne harmelesse innocencie, neither fearing, nor fearefull to others.

Great learning seemes to transport a man to an element aboue himselfe, and being of little vse in this lower region, the great Clerke hath his owne learning for his owne reward, and is permitted quietly to enioy himselfe, together with all his sweete and heauenly meditations. Honour or wealth would distract him, and interrupt the course of his studies; the noyse of this world would awaken him out of his extasis: thus sitting aloft in a Doctors Chaire, and wanting the earths foundation, at length he must fall, vnlesse he be miraculously supported from aboue. The discontentment of learning in these daies, proceeds not onely for want of preferment, but euen the credit of learning in her owne kinde, is now called in question. All other trades are able to keepe their owne wares in their due valuation; only learning in these daies, is growne so common and triuiall, such are the helps of ~~art~~, translations, abridgements and Indexes, so many, so plentiful, that me thinks a naturall and mother wit seemes to outface learning, and to call it pedantisme, making a farre greater show and ostentation of learning, then learning can doe of her selfe; as things counterfeited, make alwaies the best outward appearance; like bold and presumptuous liers, who seeme to be most confident in their reports. These gentle Clerks cannot be content to kindle and enlighten their owne lampes, but now they desire to put out the light, and to raise vp their buildings with the ruines of learning, perswading the world that it is not of that necessitie and vse in the State: whereas all our religion seemes to adorne and support learning,

The discontentment of Learning.



and together with it, is infused into the hearts of men, all our ciuility, all our customes, our manner and forme of speech, all our lawes, and whatsoeuer else makes man sociable: all was first borrowed from the well-spring and fountaine of learning; though now by habit, practise, and continuance of time, we may seeme to enioy them. When learning was once exiled, nations turned barbarous, without the seruice of God, or the feare of the Magistrate.

Learning is defective in her end, yet superfluous in her parts.

I dare excuse nothing from vanitie, and therefore I must truly confesse, that learning seemes to bee defective in her selfe. For as the whole world is circular, and as whole nature consists in alteration and change, the night succeeding the day, and the day the night: so learning seemes to runne in a circle or maze, not attaining that height which it aimes at; where it ends, there it begins, reading much, and forgetting much, and neuer comes to a period. Learning hath likewise her superfluous lops, which in time may well admit incision. I do not like an ouer-great curiosity in the knowledge of languages, or a fond affectation of stile; I doe not commend too much nicitie in the rules of Logicke, to be ouer-strict in the tearmes of Art, to fight about shadowes, to insist too much in the precepts, when as the perfection consists in the vse. Poetrie and Criticks they are young mens delights, and lothed in age: a ripe and staied iudgement will not admit the trickes and subtilties of Schooles. Whereas the best learning consists in the discouerie of the truth, and truth delighteth in plainnesse, and in a homely attire. *Ars est dissimulare artem*: we must not alwaies be precise in obseruing the rules of an Art; wee must not stand strictly vpon the formes of our Syllogismes; as if the reasonable soule were not capable of a reasonable discourse, but she must spell out the sense, by knitting and vniting the propo-



propositions according to mood and to figure. Here are the excrements I confesse, not vnlike the wings or skirts of a garment, or the warts or spots of the flesh, which serue for lustre and ornament of the rest, and not for any speciall vse and commoditie: whereas true learning doth wonderfully enlighten the vnderstanding, quickens the inuention, directs the iudgement, makes a dissection of nature, opens the entrailes, and seeing the wisdom of the Creator, contents the curiositie of our mindes, prepares the way to religion, guides and directs vs in our actions.

Giue me leaue in one word to speake in defence of the Schooles: This is an infirmitie, which is not onely incident to Vniuersitie learning, but to all other professions in generall; for the nicities and trickes of law, are as foolish in their owne kinde, as are the subtilties of Schooles, were it not that a Writ, directed to the Sheriffe for the execution of their lawes, doth mitigate their follie. When the penne and the sword doe meete together, then who dare stand in defiance, but make a separation between both, and then strength will proue brutish, and wit ridiculous; not vnlike him that should dart a goose quill, (as learning is figured out by the pen) of it selfe it will neither pierce, nor make any long flight; but if the Archer shall cunningly take the least part of it, and glew it to his shaft, then it will proue a very fearefull and dangerous instrument in warre; but thanks to the iron, and not to the feather. Wee can discourse of the heauens and the earth, when as yet we know not how to alter the proprietie: they can transport the inheritance, when as yet they know not the substance, conceiue the happinesse of the one, in respect of the other: and here you haue the difference.

The benefit which all professions seeme to receiue from schoole-learning is such, and so great, as that they  
being

*Memoria Breuitas  
Amica*

An Apology  
for learning.



The vse and  
excellencie of  
Schoole-learning.

being not able with due thankfulnesse, to make any kind of recompence, they requite it with iniuries, reproches and wrongs: or seeking to conceale what they haue borrowed, that it might seeme to be their owne, they say with the tenants in the Gospell, Heere is the heire, come let vs slay him, and the inheritance shall be ours. To let goe all other meaner professions, and to insist in the wisdome of the law; it were a foule disparagement to compare the learning of all ages, the learning of the whole world, the knowledge of God and nature, with any priuate or provinciall lawes, but I do heere generally insist in all the lawes of the world. Assuredly all their wisdome is onely borrowed from schoole-learning; they haue indeed proper and peculiar to themselves, their particular customes, the formes of their writs, the manner of their proceedings, the nature of their Courts, the extent, and signification of their words, all which are framed as well as possibly the wisdome of man could inuent; but the ground and reason of their law, is onely taken from schoole-learning. Whereas our temporall lawes are squared & proportioned according to that eternall law (which makes much for the dignity and certainty of our lawes) I would gladly aske who should take notice of that eternall law? to whose profession doth the knowledge thereof most properly belong, but to the Philosopher? who by the inspection of nature, viewing the course of Gods providence, considering the soules actions, and thereby iudging of her inclination, is able to make a large volume, and treatise of that subiect. If question be made, what circumstances doe alter the action? here presently wee enter the lists of Morall Philosophie, which is able to direct vs for our selues in the Ethicks,<sup>1</sup> for our household and families in the Economickes;<sup>2</sup> for the kingdome or Empire in the Politickes. Now in regard<sup>3</sup>



regard that the Church and the State are together combined, and therefore must necessarily symbolize; if any doubt be made in regard of a Christian Commonwealth, here the Casuist Diuines take place, and must giue his direction accordingly. To conclude, our schoole-learning doth as farre exceed all the lawes in the world, in the excellencie of their wisdome and knowledge, as the lawes of God and nature, are much wiser then the lawes of men.

From the person and inward gifts of man, let vs come to his substance, which doth most moue the common sort of men, as being most sensible, and therefore I cannot but take notice of it. Wealth giues no manner of contentment, but rather like the dropsie, prouokes the appetite; for the mind still continueth empty, and therefore still may desire, when the purse or the coffer swallowes vp the treasure. If this wealth bee excessiue in some, then is the pouerty of others as excessiue; for the enriching of one, is the impouerishing of another: there is no new creation of nothing, we doe but robbe and purloine from each other, and so at length make our selues a fit and a fat bootie. In the greatest abundance, yet naturall temperance prescribes a moderation, and a sober vse of the creatures: *Non iturus hic capiet venter, plusquam mens.* Nature hath not giuen thee a broad backe, and an emptie belly, according to the measure and proportion of thy wealth; thou canst take no more of thy great wealth, then wee can doe of our little: here is thy comfort indeed, that thou takest it from a greater heape, and pleasest thy selfe with a conceite of thine owne plentie. But Christian religion, whose God appeared in basenesse and pouerty, descends much lower, both for the imitation of Christ, that God beholding vs, hee might discern in vs, not onely his owne image, but likewise the image of his deare

Of wealth and  
abundance.



deare sonne, who sustained our infirmities and wants; as likewise for penance, it prescribes a more strict mortification; in the midst of our plentie and abundance, we are enioyned our fastings, our sackcloth, our ashes: and wherefore serues thy great wealth, vnlesse thou wilt, with the superfluitie of thy wealth, as it were with the haire of thy head, wipe the feet of thy Sauour, comfort the comfortlesse, and helpe the distressed members of Christ? If thou hadst nothing, then if thou canst learne to contemne and despise wealth, thy state is much more glorious and happie, then if thou enioyedst all the treasures the whole earth could afford thee. Pouerty in spirit, Goe and sell all that thou hast, and giue to the poore, it is a state Angelicall, best besitting Christ and his Apostles.

All men want  
at some times.

The richest man vpon some occasion, at one time or other, shall stand in need of some necessarie commodity; either the yeere will not serue for his plentie, or the season will not afford it, or the market cannot furnish him; sometimes his prouision for his owne priuate household and family may faile him, though otherwise he may haue it in store. If a Prince were at sea, he must content himselfe with a marriners soode; and in our iourneys by land; sometimes wee light vpon cottages, where all things are wanting; and what is this but to be poore in effect, and in very deed, when we lacke all these necessities which our nature requires? I haue knowne a great man in this kingdome, who might haue spent many thousand pounds by the yeere, and yet the report goes (which I doe easily beleue, for I was not farre absent) that hee died for want of a peni-worth of Aquauita, which at that time might haue bin a great meanes vnder God, to haue preserued him from such a sudden death.

There is a generation of men, who notwithstanding  
their



their owne abundance, yet denie vnto themselves necessarie prouision for this life; who doe not choake, but starue themselves with their plentie. It is not for temperance, or Christian discipline, but they spare, that they may spare, and in the possession of their wealth they make themselves slaves, they place them aboue themselves, and not beneath themselves; they are not franke and free of them, but intangled in them; their wealth possesseth them, and they doe not possesse their wealth; for it is the property of a master to say to his seruants, goe, and they goe, come, and they come; but heere they themselves are the drudges, while their treasure is safely laid vp in their clossets, and sometimes their minds are as griple, and as much disquieted, as if they did liue in the greatest penury & wants. I haue known a man, who had not so little as twenty thousand pounds of his owne getting, besides otherwaies a very large and plentiful estate, being no way indebted; yet this man died with the very thought and perplexitie of his owne wants; alas poore man, it should seeme hee died to saue charges.

Many men haue laboured much, and trauelled far, to get wealth; suppose I should accompanie them, I should not thinke my labour or trauell ill spent, if I might but onely and barely know what is wealth: for as yet I could neuer be resolved what it was to be rich, or what competent estate were requisite, which might properly bee called wealth. For heere in the countrey with vs, if a mans stocke of a few beasts bee his owne, and that he liues out of debt, and paies his rent duly and quarterly, we hold him a very rich and a sufficient man; one that is able to doe the King and the countrey good seruice; wee make him a Constable, a Sides-man, a Head-borough, and at length a Church-warden: thus wee raise him by degrees, wee prolong his ambitious hopes,

The miserie  
of wealth.

What is  
wealth, or  
what it is to  
be rich.



and crafts  
 hopes, and at last wee heape all our honours vpon him. Here is the great gouernour amongst vs, and we wonder that all others doe not respect him accordingly: but it should seeme, that since the dissolution of Abbeyes, all wealth is flowne to the townes: the husbandman sits at a rackt rent, hee fights with distracted forces, and knowes not how to raise the price of the market: only the Trades-man hath his Corporation, hee can ioyne his wits and his labours together, and professing the one, he thrives by the other; and therefore they are not vnfitly called Handi-crafts. Now in the next market towne there are great rich men indeed: for I heare it reported, (but I dare not speake it for a truth) that there are certaine Tanners, Chandlers, and other trades-men, some worth 50. pounds, some 60. pounds, some a 100. pounds a peece: this is wonderfull, for we cannot possibly conceiue, how men, by honest and direct meanes, should attaine to such summes. Indeed the poore people say, that one got his wealth by the blacke art, another found a pot of money in a garden, which did sometimes belong to a Priorie; and the third grew rich, by burying many wiues, for heere are all the possible meanes, which wee can imagine of enriching our selues.

Wealth consists onely in comparison.

But now we are in the rode, we haue but a few houres riding; I pray' let vs hasten to London, there is the Mart, there is the mint; all waters flow from the sea, all waters returne to the sea: there dwell our Landlords, the countrey sends vp their prouision, the countrey must send vp their rents to buy their prouision: Now here in London, vlesse a mans credit bee good vpo the Exchange, to take vp five hundred pounds vpon his owne bond; and that hee bee of the Liuerie, and hath borne office in his Companie, we doe not esteeme him. If an Alderman bee worth but twelue thousand pounds,



pounds, we pitie him for a very poore man, and begin to suspect and to feare his estate, lest this ouer-hastie aspiring to honour, may breake his backe. If a Nobleman haue great royalties, and may dispend ten thousand pounds by the yeere, yet we hold him no bodie in respect of the ancient rents of the Dutchie. The Dutchy notwithstanding the augmentation, yet is farre inferior to the reuenues of the Crowne: these Northern kingdomes come short of the Southerne; the Southern Princes are starke beggers, in respect of the Indian: Whether shall I flie, in the pursuite of wealth? I am now farre from home, and it is not safe for me to trauell among Infidels. I will rather thus conclude in reason, if there bee wealth in this world, it is either vpon the face of the earth, or else in the bowels of the earth, like treasure conceald and safely lockt vp in natures coffers. I will therefore here stay my selfe, and fall flat on the earth; and heere I will solemnely proclaime it, that the whole earth is an indiuisible point, and carries no sensible quantitie in respect of the heauens. Thus at length I will returne home, not loaded with oare; but being much pacified in minde, and fully resolued, that all wealth consists onely in comparison. Now if it shall please God, to supplie the necessities of my nature, as he in his mercie already hath done, (God make me thankfull vnto him) neither doe I despaire of his prouidence; I will not compare my selfe with others, but deeme my selfe sufficiently rich; and if I should striue to be rich in comparison, I should neuer be able to attaine mine owne ends.

Lay vp these money bagges; from wealth I wil come vnto honour, as others by wealth come vnto honour: The glittering and gingling of gold seems to resemble honour; which is a pretie noise, a sound, a kind of fame or report: if it want meanes to support it, it is like sale-  
able

*Diuitia sunt ex  
sua uoluntate*



Honor hath a  
weake founda-  
tion.

able stuffe, which at first seemes beautifull to the eye, but hath no substance to continue: if any one be raised without merit, hee shall bee sure to fall againe without desert. As are the mindes of men (of a mutable and changeable condition) so is the foundation of honour weake and changeable; especially in the multitude, who alwaies iudge according to shewes and appearance: and as they are soone gained with a cap, so are they as easily lost with a frowne; their loues follow not the honest intent, but the happie successe of the action. Times and fit occasions giue the first beginning to honour, and as it hath a sudden rising, so it proceeds not by degrees, but commonly men doe outliue their good fortunes, and seldome or neuer doe extraordinarie honours mourne at their funerals.

The vaine  
ceremonies of  
Honor.

Especially in a subiect, liuing vnder a Monarchy, gracious with his Prince, beloued of the people: this double reference to the Prince, to the people, makes his state dangerous and almost desperate; the one fearing and suspecting him, the other laying to his charge all the distastfull actions of State: for this man long to continue, to hold fast with both hands, taking his honour from aboue, his loue & reputation from beneath, and thus to hang in the aire betweene heauen & earth, is a worke very difficult, almost impossible. When honour is at the best, yet it seemes to be nothing, vnlesse it be set foorth with ceremonies, with rich and costly apparell, the Harolds attending with bannors, scutcheons, and armes, counterfeit and supposed titles, many Pages, Vsers and officers of honour appointed; such chaires and cloathes of estate, cups of grace serued on the knee, the seruants rankt in their order, such strict and precise formes of salutation; and if all this will not serue, then open and plaine flatterie, and all manner of lying and grosse cosynage. But I pra'y looke to their persons,



persons, and you shall finde them some old crasie bodies, troubled with gowtes and with palsies, who take little ioy or contentment in al their honour, and would very willingly exchange it for a little health. Heere then I see, that a poore mans condition is farre better then theirs, and much to bee preferred before theirs: little would you thinke, that men of such account, so much talked of, should be of such a stature and personage.

Thus it should seeme, that the Ceremoniall law is no way abolisht, but onely translated from the Temple of the Iewes to the palaces of our Nobles. All their honour consists in shewes, and in ceremonies; and therefore wee may well feare, that they haue but onely the shew of honour. For there was true honour indeede, which appeared in the basenesse of this world, and imparted honour to the most dishonourable creatures; God and man, power and weakenesse, Maiestie and humilitie together subsisting; the homely manger was a fit subiect for the song of Angels; and the most ignominious crosse must be the onely signe of victorie and triumph: for hee wanted no thrones to set foorth his greatnesse, being all glorious in himselfe, though shadowed in the vaile of our flesh; hee wanted not the helpe of the creatures, though otherwise he might haue commanded many legions of Angels to attend him; his honour was in himselfe, and not in him that ascribed the honour. And therefore being not able to look vp to his Throne, I will heere fall downe at his footstoolle, here I will worship: for I had rather be a doore-keeper in the house of my God, then to dwell in the Tents of vngodlinesse. Thus setting true honour before mine owne eyes, I will yet a little further discover the vanities of our worldly and temporall honour.

Suppose that a stranger, or one vnacquainted with these

The true Honour of Christ.



The feast of  
honor.

these honourable courses, should bee admitted in the time of some great feast, (as the manner is) to see the fashions and conditions of the place, I pray, obserue, with what state and formalitie their meate is serued vp, what exquisite dishes, varietie of sauces, how many courses, how well it is ordered, what banquetting stuffe, and plentie of sweete meates! The English fowle embalm'd with the Indian spice, the delicious Carp swimming in a sea of sweete broth, the red Deere harbour'd in a nut-browne coffin, the Phesant onely commendable for her price; here are the creatures (I confesse) in abundance. But now, where is the vse of these creatures? See how this honourable Lord sitting in all his state, calles at length to his Caruer, for the legge of a Larke, or the wing of a Partridge, and so rests satisfied; complains of his weake stomacke, vseth his hot waters, &c. How much are wee bound vnto God, whose condition though meane and inferiour, yet wee haue a sufficient plentie of Gods creatures; in stead of their sauces, wee haue our hunger and good appetite; and to these creatures God hath giuen that hidden qualitie, as that they are fit to nourish our bodies; a strange wonder in nature, that dead creatures should preserue life: and hauing thus both substance and qualitie, God hath giuen vs the free vse of these creatures, that wee may take them in full measure with moderation, while he himselfe sanctifies both them and vs, and giues a blessing to both.

The funerals  
of honor.

As it is in their feasts, so it is in their funerals; as it is in their liues, so it is in their deaths: nothing but dumbe shewes. I neuer see Sir *Christopher Hattons* tombe (because I haue named the Gentleman, and that I desire that all things may bee spoken without offence, I will giue him his due praise and commendation; in his time he was a very honourable minded man, no practising statesman,



statesman, first contriuing, and then very wisely discovering his owne plots: but of faire and ingenious conditions, highly fauoured of his Prince, and generally beloued of the people; and one to whom the present Church of England, is as much indebted in true loue and thankfulnes, as to any lay subiect that euer liued in this kingdome): when I see his tombe, me thinkes hee should not bee like the ordinarie sort of our men, such huge commendations, such titles, such pillars, such gilding, such caruing, such a huge monument, to couer so small a body as ours it cannot be. Send for the Mazons, will them to bring hither their instruments and tooles, their mattocks, spades, hammers, &c. let vs pull downe this tombe, see his excellencie and greatnesse, let vs take his proportion: But stay your hands, I will saue you all that labour, for I will tell you in brieife (if my tale were worth the telling) what you shall finde, a few rotten bones, and a handfull of dust; some crawling wormes, which haue deuoured this great little man, whom we supposed to haue bin as great vnder y<sup>e</sup> earth, as wee see his monument statelie mounted aboue ground. Is there deceit and cosonage among the dead? or rather doe the liuing heires and suruiuers intend their own glorie in the tombe of their ancestors? Well, howsoeuer liuing or dead, man is altogether vanitie, deluding the world with shewes; and making great appearance of things, which are small in themselves.

Thus we deceiue, and wee are deceiued, the world is growne old, her sight begins to faile her, she hath put on spectacles, and the things of this world seeme farre greater, then they are in veritie and truth, and greater to vs then they seemed to the ancients. Wee carrie (I confesse) a greater glosse and varnish then they did, but certainly for true honour and noblenesse of minde, they did farre exceede vs; not descending to  
L. those

The decay of  
Honour.



those base offices, and pillages, which haue been since practised; not so wholly intending their owne lucre, as now wee doe. Our honour seemes to adde nothing to our cariage, our port or expense; a Lord with his page, a Knight with his lackie, here is sufficient attendance; pitie it were that a house should stand emptie, when a chamber will serue; a set table, and an ordinarie diet were ouer troublesome, some Tauerne or common Ordinarie shall make their prouision: to runne in debt with the Mercers, and to vndoe the poore tradesmen, it is now growne to bee the fashion of the times; to carrie an high minde, and yet to stoope low, and to bite at euery baite, these are the frutes of our honour, and herein wee dishonour our selues. I reuerence true honour, acknowledging it a thing onely proper to man, the speciall and principall outward image of God; but (I feare) it is now bleered either with apish toyes, or counterfeite shewes, seeming wholly to relie vpon genealogies and descents, hauing lost the true ground and foundation in the heart.

A due respect  
vnto honor.

I doe not doubt, but as there are seuerall kindes of creatures, so in the same kinde there may be a great difference, for the vertues and good qualities: and therefore as in the earth, there are mines and vaines of metall, a difference of mould. And as it is most manifest in all other kinds of dumbe creatures; so in the bodies of men, there may be a difference of blood: *fortes creatur fortibus et bonis*, not only in regard that the posteritie doth naturally affect to follow the steppes of their ancestors; as likewise in regard of Gods promise, who will be a father of his elect and of their seede; and according to the truth and certaintie of his owne nature, will continue his gracious mercies from generation to generation; but likewise in regard of the naturall and inbred qualities, arising from the temper and constitution



tion of the seed. Thus God intending to take our manhood vpon himselfe, he made choice of his owne stock and familie, euen the tribe of *Juda*, the royall race for his parentage: and this doth make much for the dignitie and honour of noble descents; though otherwise we must not herein presume too farre, for the tribes are now confounded, and we are all the sonnes of *Abraham*. The fathers vertues are not alwaies intaild to his seede, the blood full often is tainted; and Gods mercie in these daies is enlarged, making no difference or acceptation of persons: for the last age brought foorth a butchers sonne, of as braue and as magnificent a spirit, as if he had been the sonne of *Cesar*.

Having lost the noblenesse of our mindes, and discovered the counterfeit shewes of our honour; giue me leaue in the last place, to hunt after our sports, and our pleasures. For the delights of men, I would gladly know wherein they consist; if in the actions of sense, or of bodie, take the most pleasing and the most naturall actions, and they do alwaies end with distaste and discontentment: the beasts are more sensuall then man, and therefore should haue a greater measure of sensual delights then man. Now in our pastimes and games, you shall obserue as great labour in them, though otherwise it passe vnder the name of an honest recreation or exercise, as you shall finde in the ordinarie callings and vocations of men: and assoone you shall attaine to the learning and perfection of their trades, as you shall grow cunning and skilfull in these sports. To set aside all other pleasures, I will onely insist in Hawking and Hunting.

Consider (I pray) their great trouble and paines; such violent labour, such dangerous riding; the high waies cannot alwaies containe them, but ouer the hedges and ditches; here begins the crie and the curse of

Our pastimes  
and sports.



The supposed  
pleasure in  
Hunting.

the poore tenant, who sits at a hard rent, and sees his corne spoyled; then immediatly followes the renting of garments, the tearing of flesh, the breaking of legs, the cracking of bones, their liues are not alwaies secured, and thus they continue the whole day; sometimes thorough stormes and tempests, sometimes enforced to wade thorough riuers and brooks, fasting sweating, and wearied only with a conceit of their bootie (heere is excellent sport indeede): if they were to be hired, they would neuer vndertake such troublesome and dangerous courses; then it would seeme to bee a meere slauerie, as indeed it doth to their seruants and followers, who must attend their Lordships, and partake with them in their whole sport, but not in any part of their pleasure. In truth according to right reason, I should preferre the life of a Carrier or a Poste, farre before theirs; with what speed doe they gallop? I could wish they would g.ue me leaue to aske them one question, wherein consists the sport and delight in hunting? some say in the noise and crie of the Hounds; others in their carefull curiositie and search in the pursuite; others in the exercise of their owne bodies, and in their hope of the bootie. I do not like this varietie of opinions; shall I resolue you this one point? the pleasure which you so hotly and eagerly pursue in the chase, consists in the phansie and in your owne apprehension; what a vaine thing is it to seeke for that in the woods, which indeed consists in your braine? ye carrie it about you, and run to ouertake your owne shadow. This is a pleasure, because you conceiue it so; perswade your selues alike of any labour or trauaile, and you shall finde alike ease and contentment. If the world were so perswaded, if it were the course and fashion of the times, to delight in religious exercises, and in the actions of pietie and deuotion, to lift vp our hearts and our voyces to God in a melodious



melodious quier, to temper our passions according to the sweete harmonie of the organ-pipe, to practise the works of charity; and in stead of the cry of the hounds, to hearken to the cries, to the blessings and prayers of poore people: assuredly wee should finde farre greater ioy and contentment, (I speake according to the carnall and naturall man, without reference to the inward comfort of Gods spirit, which is a benefit vnvaluabable) then now wee reape in these outragious, troublesome, dangerous and bloodie sports, which wholly fauour of crueltie.

As we are deluded in their sports, so likewise in their persons: I had thought that Huntsmen and Faulconers had been in the nature of our Heardsmen; but in truth, they are well mounted and horst, as if they were appointed for some seruice of warre, all apparelled in greene, like the sonnes of May; they can talke and discourse of their forrest lawes, of state matters, and newes at Court; they haue their words of Art, their rules, and certaine notions belonging to their profession: and were it not for such formalitie and ceremonies, the sport would be little respected.

Thus briefly in effect, Beautie is as a fading flower, and serues to incense lust: Honour increaseth pride, the height makes greater the downfall: Wealth breedes carefulnes, deiects the minde, and makes man a slaue: Learning tends to confusion, great wisdome rather breedes a distaste, and a dislike in nature, then giues any contentment: All pleasures consist in the fanfie, according to mans owne apprehension. Now proportion these five seuerall qualities, to the five seuerall senses of mans bodie; wisdome to the sent, beautie to the sight, honour to the eare, wealth to the touch, pleasures to the taste. Suppose a man to consist of five senses, and to haue the full measure of these five seuerall obiects; yet

Of Huntsmen.

-vaxey 227001

1  
2  
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The least sorrow spoyleth all our ioy.

One ioy suppresseth another.

certaine it is, that all the ioyes in the world can giue his heart no true contentment; but the least sorrow and griefe deiects the high minde, and brings downe his courage. If thou haddest wealth, more wealth thou requirest, and in euery action an excesse is distastfull; but if in the midst of all thy ioyes, the least griefe should assault thee; suppose thou wert an absolute Monarch, and haddest the gouernment of the whole world; that thou diddest ride vpon the shoulders of men, carried in triumph, treading vpon thy captiues and slaues; that thou haddest all carnall and al possible pleasures, which nature could afford thee: yet if thy tooth did but ake, if thy naile were but sore, if thy little finger were scorcht with the fire, (for I will not speake of those more noble parts, the eye, the heart, the braine, the liuer, and the rest), assuredly thou wouldest iudge thy selfe a most miserable man, and shouldest take little ioy or contentment in all those sports and delights.

Suppose thou couldest distill all thy pleasures, and free them from sorrow, as it were separating their drosse, so that many whole and entire perfections should be linckt in thy person; yet obserue, how one ioy seemes to preuent, ouertake, and to extinguish the other. When thou sittest at table to meate, then farewell the delight, which thou tookest in thy morning exercises & sports; now thou must intend to please thy daintie and delicious palate: at length, for feare of a surfer, farewell the sweete sinne of gluttonie; the afternoone will serue to visit to thy friends, but as thou comest, so there must be a time of departure; as was thy ioy, so must be thy sorrow, the one will easily recompence the other. Vpon thy returne thou callest to thy stewards and clerkes, to see the accounts of thy house; the ouerplus and surplusage of thy rents and estate: this indeede reioyceth thy heart, and thus thou passest from ioy vnto ioy, the whole



whole time of thy pilgrimage. Suppose thou wert con-  
finde to any one of these delights, thou wouldest think  
thy life but a flauerie; so then thy delight consists onely  
in the varietie. Suppose any mans minde were not so  
stragling, and extrauagant as thine, but that hee could  
tie himselfe and limit his owne thoughts; certainly he  
should receiue as much contentment in one, as thou  
dost in many. What doth this argue, but only that man  
(forsaking the fountain of all true goodnesse, in whom  
all ioyes are together knit and vnted, that enioying  
him alone, wee might haue all fulnesse of ioy and con-  
tentment, not by degrees, not in varietie, not in succes-  
sion, but altogether in euery moment of eternitie) Man  
hauing lost this onely one good, seekes againe for the  
same good, in the shadow thereof, thorough many  
chaunges and alterations, and not finding the same  
good, desires to please himselfe with varietie?

Suppose the whole day were spent in iolitic and  
mirth, yet if thou diddest but want thy nights rest, al  
were nothing. Lord, how thine owne thoughts would  
torment thee! how long and tedious would the time  
seeme! how often wouldest thou wish and expect the  
light of the morning! then thou beginnest to acknow-  
ledge, that of all the ioyes in the world, there is none  
comparable to a sweete sleepe; sleepe, which refresheth  
the wearisome limmes, renewes and quickens the fa-  
culties of the minde, restores the bodie to her wonted  
strength, (it seemes as an excellent embleame of the  
last resurrection), for in the day time our sports do pro-  
ceed with consuming of our spirits, the decay of our  
strength, the weakning of our parts; but sleepe must re-  
compence all. Haue I wrung out a confession? Now  
giue me leaue to worke vpon it. What is sleepe, but the  
image of death? a want of sense and of motion, not  
capable either of ioy or of sorrow. If our greatest con-

All ioyes are  
nothing with-  
out the nights  
rest.

*Somni Comoda. q*

*Somni qd*



tentment rest in our rest, and sleepe bee our greatest blisse; then our greatest ioy consists in the priuation of all ioy, and in the want and absence of delights, consists the perfection of delights. As-much in effect, as if I should say, it were better to haue no ioyes at all, then to be fraught and filled with ioyes; for our ioyes are but toyes, and the delights of this life are as the dreames of a shadow without stayednesse, foundation or consistencie. *Affectum dantis pensat censura Tonantis*

If there be any ioyes in the creature, O the wonderfull ioyes of him that created! hee is the fountaine of ioy, and these are but drops: he is the sunne of ioy, and these are the rayes, or the beames which he imparts vnto nature. If I loue beauty, I will first loue him, and fasten mine eyes vpon him, that is the fountaine of beauty, and beauty it selfe: if I loue honor or wealth, I will looke vpon him, who sits aboue in maiesty, heauen is his throne, the earth is his footstoole, whose treasures are infinit, who makes all things of nothing, he can enlarge his owne Empire, create many infinite worlds for his owne gouernment. Hee that is proud of his owne wealth or his honor, is indeed base minded, to content himselfe with so base an element as the earth; our pride and ambition lookes much higher, aboue the starres, where God sits in perfect glory; where all the hallowes of heauen are clothed with happines and honor; here is the marke and scope of our desires, here we may claime our right by inheritance: for here we haue our part and portion with them; there is but little ioy in the creature, all an infinitie to that little ioy: and so thou shalt worship God in the creature, let it not hinder our search or our hope, for it is but an earnest or forerunner of that future ioy to secure vs of happines; *non ancillam ament, qui dominam ambiunt*, if we come as suters to the Mistris, let vs scorne to fall in loue with the handmaide.

This

*Iesu conuincit*

The ascent of  
the mind vnto  
God, by the  
ladder of the  
creatures.

*Iesu ama: ad eū clama  
qui te fecit  
et redemit.*  
*Him loue allway  
& to him pray  
wh hath thee made  
& redeemed*

*Car di eto,  
galw arno  
R'hion a th l'mio  
ag a th bryno*

*He thy Maker  
He Redeemer*



This I speake, supposing there were some ioy in the creature, which if there were any, thy minde might be transported and carried, by the ladder or bridge of the creatures, to the loue of thy creator. For as it pleased God to ordaine a ceremoniall law, differing from the naturall law, according to the wisdom of his owne institution: so assuredly the minde of man, which delights in nothing so much as in mysteries, may make whole nature a ceremony, and all the creatures types and resemblances of spirituall things; for thus the land of promise did figure out the heavenly Ierusalem, and this I cannot dislike in the practise of any mans priuat deuotion.

But I must call to mind my first intention, which was to proue that the ioy of the creature was only vanity, and this shal appeare by these three circumstances.

1. The variety of mens iudgements in the choice of their owne happines, which certainly proceeds from the fanisie; for right reason hath but one only foundation, and God will not admit any difference. 2. This their conceited or supposed happines neuer consists in the present; in somuch that man can neuer say vnto himselfe now I am happy: but his happines is alwayes either past, gon and already spent, or els comming in expectation; like some desperat debt, when faire promises serue for our payment. 3. Few or none will euer acknowledge themselves to haue bin happy, but yet still are verily perswaded, that there is some happines, though not in the state and condition of life, which they themselves doe professe: as if there were some common fame or report of some new wonder, that should be, which indeed neuer was; and inquisition being made, for the triall of the truth, euery man layes it to an other mans charge, and no man dares stand to iustifie it.

He

3. Grounds to  
proue that  
there is no  
happinesse in  
this world.



1. The variety  
of opinions  
concerning  
happinesse.

He that shall peruse *Aristotles* Ethickes, will wonder how it is possible, that there should be so many severall opinions concerning happines; when as the end of man, whereunto every man is ordained seemes to be that happines. And strange it is, that man alone should so much mistake himselfe in his owne end; and yet Saint *Austen* sets downe a far greater number of different opinions concerning happines. To let passe the heathen Philosophers, and to suffer them to oppose each other, that so being mutually weakned, the Christian man may with more ease carry the triumph: Consider I pray the daily actions of men, some intend nothing but their pleasures and sports; others their greatness and honor; some drudge for their wealth, others desire to seeme valiant: Many men whose pride exceeds their wit, will boast of those things in themselves, which notwithstanding in others they hold very meane, base and contemptible. If they haue no good parts of their owne to commend them, then they will boast of their bloud and their parentage; while others flatter themselves with this conceit, that although they carry no great outward shew in the world, nor are not much regarded, yet their wealth is greater then it is vsually taken for, &c. Some know how to make themselves fine and trimme, and are proud of their beauty and comelines, and doe expect wonders in their marriage: and sometimes they are proud of their clothes and apparell, and therein they commit a point of iniustice, to seaze vpon that glory, which belongs to another: for the worme should brag of his silke as of his owne excrement; and the taylor should boast of his fashions. And some there are, who wanting all these, yet supposing themselves to haue a good naturall wit, begin to condemne nature, that hath not proportioned all her gifts accordingly. I could bee infinit in this kinde of  
vanity,



vanitie, but Poets and Players daily discover it; and therefore I will ease my selfe of that labour.

Suppose we did agree for the qualitie, what it were to be happie, then let vs search for the person; where is this happie man, who might bee said for the present to enioy this happinesse? It is a common proverbe, that young men liue in their hopes, old men in their memories; it should seeme that young men haue not (as yet) strength to shoot so farre as the marke; (for all aime at happinesse): and it should seeme that old men shoot beyond the marke; for they can discourse what they haue been with their bowes and their arrowes, at the siege of Bullen. Thus young men, and old men, are generally excluded from happinesse: and speaking of young and old, I must needs include the middle age, or the middle sort of men, as according to our naturall course, so according to the course of our misery. For happinesse is the end of man; now if any should attaine his owne end, or his owne proper place, assuredly hee would rest satisfied, and contented therein. But it is as proper to man, as is the nature of man, to bee full of change and variety; hee neuer rests, but is altering his buildings, changing his garments, intending new courses; as if hee were to find out some new passage, a shorter cut vnto happinesse, wherof the ancients were ignorant. Lord, how hee flatters himselfe with vaine hopes! sometimes of himselfe, sometimes of the young child in the cradle; if his debts were but payed, he would liue very happily and well; if his mother in law were gone, his estate would bee great; though now he liues in some pouerty and want, yet he hath an old kinsman that intends to make him his heire: *mundus vult decipi*, men desire to be flattered, and for want of parasites, they will flatter themselves. I haue seene the gray beard, gape after the death of his young nephew,

2. No man accounts himselfe happy for the present.



nephew, and to expect the inheritance for want of issue male to succeed: thus waking we dreame, and can discourse of the shortnes of mans life, expect the departure of others, but for our selues we finde little change or alteration in our bodies: we deceiue our selues with our owne yeares, our constitution, or calling to minde the long liues of some of our parents: others sickned indeed and died by accident, casualty, and chance, but we will preuent that in our selues.

3. Denying  
happinesse in  
our selues, do  
suppose it in  
others.

Thus is the world deluded with hopes, and men goe a whoring after their owne inuentions; the person is as vncertaine as is the qualitie, for wee cannot resolute what happines is, nor doe we know where to finde out that happy man (I speake onely of such a happines as may be competent and agreeable to our present condition): for as yet I neuer hard any man account himselfe happy, but still something was wanting, and yet we are well perswaded, that there is some happines in nature, and therefore we would charge others to be happy in respect of our selues; *uberior seges est alienis semper in agris*, alwayes thy neighbours ground is better then thine, he is the happy man, and thou art the wretch. Sometimes this preiudicat opinion is not sufficient, and therefore the world is full of complaints: Princes must erect Courts of request, as if therein men did seeme to accuse their owne condition, to lay the whole burthen of their grieve vpon others, and therefore did flie vnto mercy, for succour and reliefe. If neither opinions nor complaints will suffice, then in others you shall obserue, a more malicious and treacherous nature; for they are apt to enuie and maligne other mens good fortunes, and enuy doth alwayes accompany greatnes: our corrupted nature seemes to stir vp a kind of emulation, for all things here stand in reference to others, the height and greatnes of the one, makes for the basenesse  
and



and pouerty of the other; no prince can subsist without subiects, no Lord without slaues, no master without seruants; the one is apt to wrong and oppresse, the other to enuie and reuolt, and in both you shall discern natures corruption.

Still we desire to comfort our selues that there is some happines, that so we might receiue ioy though not in the present possession, yet in the hope or expectation. And to this end, see the cunning & subtile euasion of this world, *ante obitum nemo supremaq; funera felix*. Happinesse it should seeme is buried, no man is happy before his death: as if a man should then account him selfe happy, when he is past his account, and lies in the graue, (I speake according to the naturall man); & this procrastination of happines, I suppose to be an absolute deniall of happines, for indeed nature cannot supply it. And this appeares, not only in the seuerall persons of men, who you may taxe with affections, & who might mistake in their ends; but consider whole mankind, and you shall obserue, y<sup>e</sup> some nations thinke other nations to be happy, in respect of themselves: stockes, families & kindreds do the like, and generally all the states of men, seeing no iust cause in themselves, wherein they might glory, begin to commend and desire an other state and condition of life, *nemo sua sorte contentus*. The Merchant commends the life of a scholler, a schollar desiring some practicall employments in his speculatiue studies, desires the life of a souldier; the souldier cries, *dulce bellum in expertis*, and hee desires the lawyers gowne, and that his combat might only consist in words, and his quarrel be tried at the bar. Thus we finde a dislike in our owne, and suppose some contentment in theirs; like sicke men, who sometimes turne on the one side, sometimes on the other; now in the chaire, then in the bed, straight in this roome, immediatly in that

Euery man  
dislikes his  
owne state of  
life.



Miseries in all  
the states of  
men.

that roome, seeking ease and rest, but faile in their purposes.

Seeing we are thus well perswaded of other mens states and courses of life, (though otherwise wee are in some dislike with our owne), I cannot sufficiently discharge mine owne dutie and conscience, vnlesse I shall speake of those miseries, which are proper and peculiar to euery state in particular. As I hope I shal not prouok whole mankind against me, when I discover their fall and corruption; so (without exception) I may speake of the vices and miseries of each state in particular. For it is proper to misery, to groane; proper to sinne, for to cry for vengeance; neither misery nor sin can long be concealed: and it is our greatest misery, that we thinke it a shame and a disparagement to our selues to haue them discovered. We are not ashamed of the corruption, but that it should be made manifest, here is our griefe; whereas the first degree to the cure, is the right knowledge of the disease.

The loue of  
heauen and  
earth cannot  
together subsist.

Heauen and earth standing in opposition to each other, the deeper you sinke in the one, the more remote you are from the other. Suppose these worldly ioyes to be the shadowes of true ioyes, (as indeed they are no more then the shadowes), if I set the shadow before me, then the light is behind me; if the light be before me, the shadow is behind me; respecting the one, I neglect the other: the loue of heauen and of earth cannot together subsist, no man can serue two masters. The shadow of the earth causeth the eclipse of the Moone; and the Moone very fitly resembles the state of man, as being the lowest of the celestially Orbes, and in regard of her mutable and changeable condition. If I desire to prepare man for a heauenly blisse, needes I must first weane him from the moderate loue of his owne flesh, laying open the miseries which are incident to whole mankind,



mankind, from which no state is exempted ; herein I shall follow the example of God himselfe, who mixeth all our ioyes with the spice of sorrow : and in the last clause of our liues before our death, (desiring then especially to draw vs to himselfe), his prouidence hath so appointed, that long diseases should better instruct vs of the true state of this world, then all our experience in the whole course of this world. Then we see our weakenes, our miseries, and what we are in our selues ; then we see the vanity of all our worldly ioyes, that so detesting and abhorring them, (esteeming them no otherwise then indeed they are), our whole comfort might reside in the onely hope of his mercy, and we be as willing to forsake this world, as euer we were to enioy it.

Thus necessity may seeme to enforce me, that I leaue nothing vnsearched, where happines might be concealed or hid ; consider likewise the principall intent of this Treatise, for I did propose vnto my selfe foure things in this second part. 1. That in discovering our miseries, both in our selues and in respect of the creatures, we might truly confesse them to be the punishments of sin. 2. That our miseries being once discovered, and we our selues being truly acquainted with the state of our nature, wee might take some dislike and distaste in nature ; whereby from the depth of our sorrow, we might haue safe refuge to the depth of Gods mercy. 3. Least there should bee any obstacle in the way to hinder our approach vnto God, I thought fit, to set our owne tents and Tabernacles on fire, to make our home-bred ioyes and delights vanish in smoake : for they are but vanities, such as should not withhold vs from the pursuit of our happines. 4. That being touched with the miseries, and no way puffed vp with the vanities, we might acknowledge God in both, expecting

The author  
proposed foure  
things to him-  
selfe in this se-  
cond part.



The particular  
miseries of  
man, are greater  
then the general.

pecting a time of liberty and freedome ; when God shall wipe away the teares from our eyes, and according to his mercy, in stead of this shadow, shall impart the truth of his happines.

Intending to speake of the severall states of men, to search where I might finde out true joy and contentment in nature, I must confesse, that as in all other things, so here especially I shall be most defective ; least an offence should be taken where an offence is not given. God forbid, that I should so far wrong mine owne soule, and mine owne conscience, as that I should justly offend the least of my brethren : though true it is, that sore backes must not be touched ; yet if I shall intend the cure, needs I must lance the impostume. Suppose I should speake of their miseries, with great diligence and good observation ; yet certaine it is, that as the actuall sinne of euery man in particular, is much more grievous then his originall : so assuredly the iudgements, which befall euery priuat man in particular, are much greater then these, which are incident to the whole nature in generall. And of these particular punishments, I cannot take any due knowledge, but must leaue them *tanquam terram remotam incognitam*, to be searched out by the godly and daily meditation of euery religious and deuout man ; who in the claufe and latter end of the day, calling himselfe to the account of his forepassed life, together with the actions of that present day, shall therein finde the vndoubted fruit of Gods iustice : and if our sins haue past without remorse of conscience, then this examination (wherein we call our selues to account) shall serue as a sufficient occasion, to stir vs vp to repentance and sorrow, *vnà cum nube testium*, with a cloud of witnesses, all our distilling teares, all our sobs and our sighs confessing our sins.

For the common sort of men, I might well reckon  
them



them among beasts, *vulgus hominum, inter vulgus animalium*, they are alwayes carried with shewes and neuer apprehend y<sup>e</sup> truth, their delights are al beastly, they seeme not to haue the least sparke of a spirit; this common sort is likewise the poorest sort, so that generally man is very needy and poore, though otherwise he is ashamed of his pouerty; and seeing that man requires more helpes, then the rest of the creatures, as clothes for his nakednesse, physicke for his health, a house for his habitation, therefore the wants of men are far greater then the wants of the creatures. For I haue often seene and obserued in the streets, an ould blinde decrepit man full of sores, and inward griefe; hungry, naked, cold, comfortlesse & harbourlesse, without patience to sustaine his griefe, without any helpe to releiue him, without any counsell to comfort him, without feare of Gods iustice, without hope of Gods mercy, which as at all times, so most especially in such distresse should be the sole comfort of a christian man. I protest before God that were it not, for the hope of my happines, and that I did truly beleue the miseries of this life, to be the iust punishments of sinne, I should much prefer the condition of dumbe creatures, before the state of man.

For the better sort of men (for so the world accounteth them) I meane the rich men of this world, if borne to great fortunes, then they neuer vnderstand their owne happines, for contraries are best knowne by their contraries; they are right miserable men, because they neuer tasted of misery, they know not plenty, because they know not penury. Lands of our owne purchase, houses of our owne building, are alwayes best pleasing vnto vs; what hath descended by inheritance, *vix ea nostra voco*: as we know not the paines in the getting, so commonly we doe not taste the sweetnesse in the en-

M

ioying;

The poorer  
sort of men.

The better  
sort of men.



ioying ; if otherwise from base and meane condition they be raised, they shall finde it a great difficulty with the change of their fortunes, to change their owne mindes, and to forget their first selues; they shall hardly learne the art of magnificence. And generally in the rich men of this world, when I consider the largenes of their meanes, how it serues to many of them, as fuell to their luxury and riot, insomuch that they doe not number halfe their dayes, but in the middle course of their age, they are tormented with coughes, with aches, with goutes, with dropies and stones; and that which I haue obserued in some of them, the greatnesse of their estate entaile and descending vpon them, cannot counteruaile some hereditary discale, which they likewise receiue from their parents: in truth I doe not enuy their estate, for I am verily perswaded, that there may be as much contentmēt and happines in the poorest cottage, as in the greatest pallace. But I will descend more particularly to the states of men, only insisting in the more noble professions of men, which seeme to be the happy callings here vpon earth, and wherein they place their happines, I will shew their misery.

The Clergy.

*Iudicium incipiat à domo Dei.* I should first begin with the house of God; but I pray pardon me, if I forbear to speake of the grieuances and complaints of the Cleargy: they are many, in stead of the ancient priuiledges, and liberties of the Church, which seeme to be grounded in nature, in regard of the high excellencie of their profession, and therefore haue bin practised among all nations, but principally expressed in the Leuiticall lawe; and so translated from the Synagogue to the Church, obserued in all ancient times, in the Primitive age. It were to be wished that they had but the common libertie of subiects; for all others, they haue their voyces and suffrages in making their own lawes.  
the



the husbandmen in the choice of their Knights; the Trades-men in the choice of their Burgeses; it were to be wished that the Clergy were not wholly excluded; being indeed more subiect to penall lawes, then any other state in the kingdome.

*Pannormitan* saith. *Laici semper sunt infensi clericis*; it should seeme, that together with the head, the members are crucified, crucified not alwayes in bloud, but with shame and with contempt; while souldiers cast lots for our garments, the reuenewes of the Church made a prey for the infidell: yet I do not doubt of Gods mercy, but they shall receiue the full benefit of our labours, notwithstanding they hate our persons, and despise our profession; for so we our selues haue iustly deserved. Doe they contemne vs? God forbid, but wee should more contemne our selues, for we preach and professe mortification; dust we are, and therefore fit to be troden on, to sustaine all iniuries and wrongs; dust we are, and therefore fit to bee scattered with euery winde, subiect to the blastes and reproches of euery foule mouth. But least our enemies should herein reioyce; let them know, that it is a part of our duty, to despise their despite, to neglect their neglect, to contemne their contempt. And therefore here is our comfort, (a comfort only proper & peculiar to priesthood), though we are incompassed with thornes, yet we can so winde and twist these thornes, as that wee can make them a crowne of thornes; wee can extract an oyle of gladnes and ioy, out of the middest of affliction and sorrow: if thornes tend to our paine, yet our glory shall consist in a crowne, in a crowne of thornes: I will now come to the gentry, which is generally reputed, as one of the happie states in the kingdome.

A strange iudgement hath lately befallen them; while they continued in their owne countries, kept

Their comfort.



The Gentrie.

great houses, much hospitalitie, attended on with troupes and numbers of seruants, their tenants liuing happily vnder their shadow, certainly they liued in great honor and plenty. But now, since they haue so much improued their estates, rackt their poore tenants, giuen ouer house-keeping, and liue retiredlie, scarce any of them, that liue within the compasse of their owne meanes; but euery man outstrips his owne fortunes, carrying a saile too great for the burthen of his vessel; in so much that forraine nations do iustly wonder at the dissolute gentry of England.

Their miseries.

The truth is, that this retired life of the gentry; drawes with it far greater charge and expence, then was formerly spent in hospitallity: not only because it giues occasion, to their dissolute gaming, and riot: but many houses being kept, for the seuerall seasons of the yeere, proue very chargeable; the furniture belonging to the house, neuer so curious and exquisit; such cubbords of plate, such hangings, cushions, and needleworke; the apparell so costly and chargeable, the diet so delicat, as reiecting meate of the shambles, and feeding on out-landish fruites, spices, and wines: all their other attempts seasoned with vaine glory, and a fond opinion of their owne reputation and honor; together with an affectation of titles, proue the more chargeable: in so much, that the fourth part of that charge, being spent in home-bread and country prouision, would in a far more ample manner suffice. And surely it would be more agreeable to our nature, for if these outlandish commodities had bin so befitting our bodies, certainly God in his wisdom and prouidence, would haue disposed our climat accordingly; what a madnesse or folly were it in vs, to seeke to equall other nations in their owne warts? We must conforme our selues to the soyle, and not thinke to reduce nature to our wils and appetites;



petites: or if in the times of warre, when force, violence, and bloud-shed seru'd for the payment, some might haue their commodities in a more plentifull manner; yet in peaceable times, whē things are bought at a valuable price, and wares exchanged for wares, there being such a difference in the valuation of both, it seemes to be intollerable. The ancient glory of England did consist in the strength of our Countrie, in the multitudes of our seruants, and in the most abounding and plentifull prouision; and herein wee doe as farre exceed them, as they doe vs, in their silkes, their spices, their oyles, or their wines.

A second vanitie in our Gentry, is, their needlesse and vnprofitable buildings, especially when Citizens turne Gentlemen, they will not endure any longer to be incaged within their owne shops; they must haue full elbow-roome, and their buildings must raise their names, & continue their memories, being (as it should seeme) otherwise somewhat meane and obscure in themselves. Thus they build great houses, and keepe small houses; which seemes to imply a contradiction, were there not an inside, and an out-side; for an house doth not onely consist of walles and foundations. And sometimes they build, when they cannot keepe, and commonly they are ouertaken with their owne buildings; the imperfect worke standing at a stay, for want of money to pay the workemen; while the neighbours, and passengers smile at their indiscretion and improvidence. But suppose these buildings were finished, whereas the delight should consist in the vse, it falles out farre otherwise; and argues rather a giddie minde, desiring employment, together with a dreame of ioy, conceiued in the imagination, then any sufficient meanes to giue them contentment: for seldome or neuer doe they enioy their owne labours, but either te-

Their need-  
lesse buildings.



nants suffer them forthwith to decay, or else their charge is continued (being absent) in maintaining their buildings. The vnthrifte and prodigall heire is sooner allured to the sale; and in his sale, hath seldome relation to their charge in the building.

Their fond  
purchases.

In their estate of land, how exceedingly doe they perplex themselves with their continuall purchases? if they could but procure a more competent demaine, they would rest satisfied: when they haue gotten this demaine, yet still there will remaine a desire to purchase all that lies in one leauell, all that holds by one tenure, they must enlarge their parkes. And being by these meanes alwaies bare and needie, wanting for the present, (though otherwise they may intēd the plentie and good of their posterity), they must straine themselves to take vp money vpon hard termes, to purchase their neighbours ground, for there is but a hedge that parts it. Assuredly, vnlesse wee shall first inclose our owne thoughts, and hedge vp our willes, and our appetites, the whole earth can giue vs little contentment; the triangle heart cannot bee filled vp and replenished with the circular earth.

Their many  
writings.

Not onely in their continuall purchases, but likewise in their present possessions, how are they troubled and disquieted in thoughts? For as the mind of man is griple and needie, and therefore desires to enlarge his owne substance: so is the same mind doubtfull, suspitious, and fearefull of any ill accident; and therefore desires by all possible meanes, to secure her selfe of her owne. And hence it is, that they so exceedingly entangle and inueagle themselves, with many writings, and conueyances, the Scriueners & Clerks are alwaies imployed; and yet the truth is, that in stead of securing themselves, through the multiplicity of writings, they cause starting holes, and giue occasion of  
strife;



strife. O happie was the old world! when all things past by word of mouth, or else a few lines subscribed with the marke of a crosse, and the seale of a tooth did suffice: when in these daies (I am verily perswaded) that, what with writings, conueyances, bills of Chancery, proceedings of Court, the whole land (which we inhabite) might bee spread ouer and couered, as with a garment; yet all will not serue for our securitie.

In their conueyances obserue how curious they are, the possession is giuen to one, to the vse of another; the reuerſion to a third, in the behalfe of a fourth; with such nice clauses and conditions, so many prouisoos, such feoffees of trust; that if a boy, or a Sophister in Cambridge should propose such notions and ends to himselfe, we should presently condemne them, as being the fruits of an idle braine: for speculations must not alwaies bee reduced to practice; things cannot so well square outwardly in the actions, as they doe inwardly in the thoughts. Strange it is to separate the vse from the thing; as if you would suppose a fruite without a root: the creatures are ordained onely for our vse, and more we cannot partake of them then the vse; so that it is a fallacie in nature, to distinguish one from the other. Againe, whole nature is corrupted; the more you intangle your selfe, the more you shal finde the corruption; the more feoffees of trust, alwaies the worser dealing; the more executors, the slower execution. Let your yea, be yea, and your nay, nay; nature contents her selfe with the fewest instruments, and workes by the easiest and plainest manner; and this should be a president for their practice.

Lastly, how doe they trouble and busie themselves with entailes? as if they would alter the state and condition of this world; which being a world of change and alteration, *ex generatione unius, fit corruptio alie-*

Their nice  
conueyances.



Their need-  
lesse entailes.

*rins*: They lay deepe foundations, and desire a settled state of continuance and perpetuities here vpon earth; but it is already resolved, that it is easier to dissolve, then to compose. Nothing can be done by law, which by the same law cannot be dissolved: & thus their intailes are either needlesse, or indeed doe cause and stirre vp such feares and ielousies betweene kinsmen and brethren, as that they proue to be the only causes, both of the breach of their loue, and of the sale of their inheritance. As for example, the least action of the younger brother, sometimes his absence, or supposed neglect, is taken so vnkindly, as it is thought to bee done in regard of the intaile; but (saith the eldest brother) it lies in my power to cut that short. These words are carried to the younger; heere begins the practice of seruants, and other kinsmen, who hope to gaine by his losse. Words multiplying, giue way to distastfull actions; first, the wasting of woods, the impouerishing of the grounds, decay of the buildings; at length it breaks forth to the cutting off of the intaile: though it bee chargeable in the doing, yet hee will not forbear it. Thus the intaile cannot secure it from selling, but makes the sale the more chargeable. And thus God laughs at the counsels of men, who desiring to erect a tower of Babel heere vpon earth, God confoundeth their tongues, and brings their worke to confusion.

The best en-  
taile.

The best kind of intaile is, to haue his goods honestly gotten; to bring vp his children in Gods feare; not to acquaint them with any wastfull course of expense; to leaue a good report behind him, the good wishes, and furtherance of all his bordering neighbors, and kinsmen; to leaue his estate not intangled, nor to ouer-trouble himselfe with these new & strange conueiances; to leaue it to the sole protection & prouidence of God; *Domini est terra & plenitudo eius*: Lord I giue thee



*thee humble thanks for mine owne use and employment ; and if my sonnes, according to the flesh, shall not succede me; then let thy sonnes, according to the spirit, be heires of thy promised land, &c.*

Me thinkes I see our Lawyers hold fast to the gentry ; and therefore I must speake of them in the next place. If the earth it selfe were stable & constant, assuredly they haue laid a very strong and sure foundation. For as long as hedges and Cottages endure ; so long seifines, tenures, and trespasses shall continue. But here is the misery, *lex terra simul cum terra ruet* : at the generall earth-quake and dissolution of this world, when all hedges and Cottages shall fall, then where shall we sue for a trespassse?

Notwithstanding that I am verily perswaded, that they are as iust, as vpright, as free from briberie and extortion, and euery way as sufficient and painfull in their owne profession, as any other state in the kingdom. For generally I can excuse none, ( we must not expect a state of innocency in a world of corruption) yet assuredly, no state is more enuied, or maligned, then theirs : which I cannot altogether ascribe to the corruption, and ill disposition of others, but euen their profession it selfe seemes (in some sort ) to produce it. As God speakes, *Vae Assur virga furoris mei*: the instruments of iustice, are alwaies fearfull, but seldome doe stirre vp true loue, and affection. This enuie and hate to their persons, hath raised vp many malicious slanders, and hath laid many false imputations vpon the profession. For thus it hath been the complaint of all ages, *leges esse telas araneorum, vel quia iuridici sunt aranea, vel quia muscas capiunt, & vespas dimittunt*. But I am not of their mind; for I thinke, that God in his prouidence hath so fitly ordained it, as prophecying, or prescribing a lesson; that the timber in Westminster Hall,

The Lawyers.

Their slanders.



Their harsh  
studie.

Hall, should neither admit cobweb, nor spider : and God make vs thankfull for the free course of our iustice.

God forbid that other mens reproches and slanders should make them miserable. Enuie may follow, but shall neuer be able to suppress, or to ouertake the vertuous and innocent. Then let vs consider them in themselves, in their persons, and in their profession. The nicities and subtilties of Law, as they doe infinitely exceed for number; so they come neare, euen for the difficultie of knowledge, to the highest and profoundest mysteries of our Christian faith, and religion. The study it selfe is very difficult and harsh; for the actions of men, together with the circumstances, being both infinite, needs the course of their studies must likewise be infinite. And as the actions of men are voluntarie, casual, and on the one side proceed from an errour; so this infinite course of their studies, can neuer admit a right order or method, which in all our naturall knowledge, giues vs the greatest ease and contentment: but heere, onely the method of time, according to the variety of accidents, as things haue fallen out, as cases haue been adiudged, so their bookes of reports must serue to informe them. Somtimes again, the iudgements of those great Sages doe much differ; and the Law doth alter and varie, as it were ebbing and flowing, according to the condition of the times and the seasons: notwithstanding the root and foundation still continue the same in the heart. Whereas nature can admit no such variety, but is the same from her first infancie and institution; and therefore our naturall knowledge, our Philosophie, hath descended to vs, through a continuall succession of all ages, without impeachment or contradiction.

Their practice may truly be called practice, and nothing



thing but practice; for no state of life is so troublesome and laborious as theirs: such daies of essoyne, such daies of appearance; so many writs, so many actions, so many offices, so many courts, so many motions; such iudgements, such orders, that I protest before God, if there were such trouble in purchasing heauen, and procuring my eternall happinesse, as there is sometimes in the recouering but of a rood of ground, I should halfe despaire to attaine it. What throngs and multitudes of Clients daily attend them? I commend the wisdom of our forefathers, who close by the hall, erected a Church, where they might take the open aire, and find it as emptie, as they left the other peopled, and furnished. How are they continually busied? I could hartily wish that there were more minutes in the houre, more houres in the day, more daies in the weeke, more weeks in the yeere, more yeeres in their age, that at length they might find out some spare time to serue God, to intend the actions of nature, to take their owne ease and recreation. For now they are ouer busied in their bricke, and their straw, to lay the foundation of their owne names and gentility; that teaching other men their land-markes and bound's, they may likewise intend their owne priuate inclosures. Wel fare the Schollers contentmēt, who if he enioy nothing else, yet surely he doth enioy himselfe; valuing himselfe aboue the price of the whole world: and therein consists the greatnesse of his wealth, vsing the turbulent waues of his owne passions, and the sweet calme of his intellectuall faculties, not distracted with any wandring employments, besides himselfe.

Before I can be dismissed the Court, I pra'y giue me leaue to make one motion to the Iudges. When they ride to their Assises, all the whole countrey attends them, (for they beare the Kings person): the Sheriffes,  
the

Their troublesome practice.



## The Iudges.

the vnder-Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Constables, Headboroughs; all must waite vpon them, with Halbards, Pikes, Billes, while all the people stand gazing, and beholding them. Assoone as the great Assises are ended, and their Lordships gone and departed, then all this goodly retinue doth presently attend the condemned prisoners, to guard them, and to see the execution. When I viewed and considered this, me thought, the Iudges were either like the condemned prisoners, or the prisoners like them; for both are attended alike, we gaze and looke vpon both, and both are alike carried to the place of execution. The Iudges (I confesse) haue somewhat the greater distance, and this distance is the sole difference; for certainly they are carried, the further they goe, the neerer they approach to the place of execution: notwithstanding they ride in their circuits, yet they shall come to a period. In euery great vacation, some of them drop, and here the Iudges like condemned men, are now brought to the place of execution; they that can giue life to others, in sparing their liues, cannot adde a daies respite to their owne: Iudges they are, and yet like poore delinquents, they shall stand at Gods barre, where no appeale shall be allowed them, and therein their condition is no more then equall to ours.

## The Citizens.

From the suburbs, where I will leaue the Lawyers, let vs come to the rich Citizens: If now they liue in plentie and wealth, it is well knowne that (in their younger yeeres) their wealth hath been gotten by sparing, thriftinesse and wants; if they please to cast vp accounts, they shall finde themselves so much indebted to themselves, as that besides the interest, they shall hardly bee able to make restitution for the principall. Now that their stomackes begin to faile them, no maruile if they bee serued vp with full dishes, and a plenti-  
full



full table; for if they would suppose the meate to be painted, it would as well suffice their appetites. Now that they are troubled with gowtes, with palsies, and the weaknesse of old age, they begin to keepe a stable well furnisht with horses, as if they were to grow young againe, and did intend to become horsemen or tilers; they conceiue as much ioy to see their seruants vse them, as if their owne crasie bodies were thereby exercised.

In telling ouer great summes of money our fingers grow black: as yet I neuer knew any man, that by his husbandrie and honest manuell labour could euer attain to an Aldermans wealth. The Citizens know how to estimate the laying out of their money, their freedom and trade, their skill in buying and selling, playing vpon aduantage with other mens ignorance, and to vnderalue poore mens labours: yet they must not take it vnkindly, if sometimes their Charters be called in question; for the Church hath lost al her priuiledges, which certainly were grounded vpon a farre greater right. Neither will I examine, whether Companies and Corporations bee preiudiciall to a publike state; sure I am, that such societies of men neuer made lawes or orders amongst themselves, preiudiciall to themselves. God send that the secrets and mysteries of trades, (whereof I am wholly ignorant, and which are best knowne to themselves), may well stand with vpright and iust dealing. Indeed being once made Magistrates, then they begin to looke vnto measures, and weights; and therein wee commend their iustice, and doe well hope, and doe heartily wish, that their own wealth had been gotten with like measure. But if by ingrossing of wares, and monopolizing of commodities, they haue exceedingly enriched themselves, let them not thinke with a small summe of money, bestowed vpon Hospitals,

Their wealth.



Their miseries.

tals, to make restitution; for the punishment must alwaies be answerable to the offence.

Their daintie living makes them the more tender; being well fed, and warmly clothed, yet they cannot preuent all vnseasonable weather; and therefore sometimes they are overtaken, they sicken and dye, with a little wet, or a small cold: according to the fashion of the old world, euery man ought to accustome himselfe to endure some hardnesse. The greatnes of their wealth is not alwaies for the safetie of their persons; sometimes it serues to stirre vp ielousies and feares; full often haue I seene it scattered by heires and executors. I commend their wisdome in getting of wealth, if it be by honest and iust meanes; but I doe not commend many of their iudgements; who know not, that the happinesse of wealth consists in the vse. Or rather I will proue charitable, to thinke them very iust in all their dealings; iust (I say) if not to all others, yet to themselves: for knowing that they deserue little, they desire to bestow little vpon themselves, but to leaue it to others, who happily may better deserue it. And as it is gotten, so it is spent; we must passe our inheritance with the same right and title, wherewith it was purchased: if it were gotten with dishonestie, assuredly it will bee spent with dishonestie, *res transit cum suo onere*. When all their whole life is past, me thinkes it is like one of their shewes, wherein Pageants are gazed vpon in the day time, and in the night are dissolued; the day following some little remnant is hung vp in their Halles, and the rest passeth away like a shadow, without any further mention or memorie.

He recalls himselfe.

Suppose me to be a wandring pilgrime now in the state of the way, directing my course vnto happinesse. I should lose my selfe in these thickers and groues, and should proue very tedious to y reader, vnlesse I should haue



haue often recourse to my Carde, consider my first intended scope, and giue an account of my travell. Hitherto I haue made a diligent search, where in this world I might finde out contentment, and happinesse; or where any true ioy might seeme to inhabite. First I began with the Church, where I found nothing but ruines, all in decay, spoyled of her substance. From thence I went to the fruitful and pleasant soiles, where I found that the Gentry were likewise very miserable in their owne kinde. At length I made bold to speake of the Law, as if I had been serued vp with a Proesse, to appeare at the barre, where I found no rest, no peace, no contentment. Then I went to the Citie-walles, where in euery streete, I made inquirie for happinesse, at what signe this happinesse might dwell, in what trade, course and condition of life. And receiuing no manner of satisfaction; yet hearing much talke and newes of the Court, and of the greatnes of our Nobles, I will presume to goe, and knocke at the Court gates, there to enquire, whether true ioy and happinesse be a follower and attendant of theirs; to what stocke or familie, to what state or faction, she is chained and vnited; whether she keepes her certaine lodging, or sometimes vndertakes a progresse; yet still resides, and is conuersant with them, or at least with some of them, as the fauour and fortune of the times shall best serue for their greatnesse.

When I looke vp to the Nobles, they seeme at first sight, to bee like starres in the firmament, all clothed with happinesse and honour; but when I come neerer, I see that no state of men is so dangerous. Some of the in their owne proud and ambitious desires, preuenting and supplanting each other; in so much that in stead of noble blood, they seeme to consist of quicke-siluer, or some spirit of blood: either they must build castles in the

The Nobles.



As in the fabrick of the bodie, the king & his nobles as a head  
 support and direct the members, so likewise in the state of a kingdom, on degree should  
 The Tradersmen & laborers as  
 feet in supporting & main-  
 taining the rule

Their miseries.

the ayre, or else they will pull downe vpon their owne heads the tower of confusion: they know not the state of consistencie, that things may exceed as well in their greatnes and growth, as in their smalnes and diminution. Looke to the framing and constitution of mans bodie, all other parts, excepting the head, must haue their fellowes & their associates in like proportiō with themselves; feete, legges, thighes, armes, ribs, al of them haue others equall to themselves: to exceede and to swell vp, were as great a deformitie and as dangerous, as to pine and to bee diminished; they must all of them keep the same proportion, and all come vnder the head, by the length of a whole necke.

Be their estate neuer so great, their reuenewes neuer so large, yet still their charge and expense seemes to ballance them, if not to exceed them: and all things deducted, little remaines; which in effect is as much, as if I had little substance, and lesse vse and employment for my little substance. The last age hath much eclipsed their greatnes, reducing as all waters to one fountaine, all light to one Sunne, so all power and obedience to one stocke, obseruing an equalitie of iustice to all the seuerall members vnder one head: for you shall obserue, that the great offices of the kingdome haue failed, whose power did seeme to exceede the fit and due bounds of subiection. The highest titles of dignitie and honour haue failed: for as in the naturall bodie, so in the politicall bodie, there should be a certaine distance between the head and the members; yet still they continue the spectacles of the world, and sometimes (to their great charge) they purchase the loue of the people, which they shall finde, if not dangerous, yet fruitlesse and wholly vnprofitable. But most commonly they are subiect to hate, and therefore seruants must be appointed, as to carrie vp their traines behinde them, so

to



to support their hate, that they themselves might be secured from feare, and that the least aspersions of words might not touch their honors. And sometimes these seruants though innocent in themselves, and very well deseruing, (but Lords must not be ouer much indebted for great seruices) they must be made a publicke example of iustice; for thus it falls out with nobles, euen from the time of their infancie, being taught and instructed by their schoolemasters; others whom they loue, shall smart and be corrected for their negligence.

From nobles, I must ascend by degrees vnto Princes, and if there were any true ioy in the creature, I do suppose it would be found in their persons: for so the world esteemes them happy and great. And no maruell, for they beare the person of vs all, and therefore great reason, that as we receiue from them our plenty, our peace, and our happinesse; so we should againe returne and restore vnto them with due thankfulnes, as part of our plenty in our subsidies, our labours and seruices in performing our homage, to recompence their care and watchfulnes: so likewise part of our happinesse (for nothing should be excluded from the royall prerogative). And thus wee should conceiue, that as the princely estate containes all other states of men within the Spheare of his gouernment; so it should partake in a large measure all their happinesse. And as it is the highest estate heere vpon earth, so it should most freely escape from these earthly contagions; while the whole burthen and weight of the miseries doe fall and light vpon others. And thus in their persons, I might consider all the happinesse, which is incident to whole mankind: not presuming to speake of Gods annoynted, without due reuerence, I will briefly touch their miseries.

First for their persons, notwithstanding their continuall intelligence, their watchfulnes and care for the security

N

curity

Princes.



Their danger.

curity of their owne persons and states : yet certainly the poore man in his homely cottage liues with far greater safety, and sometimes with much more contentment, then they doe in their royall pallaces. They haue a guard I confesse, many seruants and officers appointed for defence of themselues : but here is the mischiefe, *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*, who shall guard them from their owne guard? or who knowes, whether their seruants receiue any pensions from their enemies? As they sit highest, and in the greatest view and appearance, so they serue as the fairest markes to be aimed at. And therefore in regard of the eminencie of their estate, and the greatnesse of their personage, amidst the throng and multitudes of dangers and perils, many things may be allowed and tolerated in them, for securing themselues, which to a man of a priuat condition were meere iniustice, wrong and oppression. Suppose the imprisonment or punishment of any one of his subjects, by way of preuention or caution to an ensuing mischiefe: this is tolerable I confesse, but herein I feare, least many Princes haue exceeded the boundes of honesty, and iustice. Yet I may speake it to Gods glory and to our owne comfort, the dayes heere in England were neuer so free from feare and suspicion, as they are at this present, vnder the happy gouernment of our most gracious King *James* : who herein seemes to excell all other princes, that so great learning and such a deepe vnderstanding, should bee accompanied with such a harmeles and innocent disposition. And this serues for his best sheild of defence, against all forraine inuasions, or home-bred conspiracies : *God make vs thankfull for these blessings, and long preserve his raigne ouer vs, &c.*

In their wars.

In the times of their wars, the common practise and desire of Princes is, to ad kingdomes to kingdomes; which if they should effect, with much bloudshed and slaughter



slaughter of their people, yet therein they should not any way increase their owne wealth; they should not strengthen their power, but should fight with distracted forces, and make themselves lesse secure of their owne: *imperia mole ruunt sua*, kingdomes must haue their boundes, and I hope (by Gods grace) I shall see the Turkish Empire fall with his owne weight. Againe in peaceable times, and at their owne homes, as all men desire to obserue and to please them; so sometimes they desire as much, and shall finde it a worke of far greater difficulty, to giue contentment to the whole commons in generall, as their subiects do to them in particular: and heere is some part of requital, some kinde of recompence, as all to one, so one to all.

If their happines consists in their gouernment and rule, for in all other things their seruants do share with them, in their diet, their garments, their gardens, their pallaces, their pleasures: yet all men haue not the like practicall disposition to delight in gouernment; sometimes it is committed to others; and there may be an angelicall contemplation, full of sweet comfort, without this worldly and troublesome imployment: The last Roman Emperour was more addicted to his priuat studies, then to the managing of his owne publicke state. But suppose, that as Princes are the fountaines of power, and cannot bereaue themselves of their power, nor cannot impart an independent power vnto others, they should therefore take the sole gouernment into their owne hands; yet sometimes (through a tractable and good nature) they are easily entreated, I will not say ouer-ruled, (which is the same in effect) by others; especially considering, that it cannot stand with their owne greatnesse, to search all things themselves, and therefore they must of necessity borrow their information from others: now here is an excellent point of wisdom,

In peace.

Wherein their  
happinesse  
consists.



Their Prero-  
gative.

when vnder colour of aduise and good counsell, where-  
in they shall haue thanks for their labour, and rewards  
for their good seruice; their seruants shall so cunningly  
ouer-rule an action, as that they may worke their owne  
ends.

No maruell, if Princes be very tender in the point of  
their prerogative; which indeed is so necessary, and so  
essentiall to gouernment, as that without it, gouern-  
ment cannot subsist: and therefore it were high pre-  
sumption to examine this prerogative; for as it is in the  
gouernment of nature, so should it be in mans gouern-  
ment. God indeed hath prescribed certaine bounds to  
the creatures, *datur maximū & minimum in unoquoque  
genere*; but what these bounds should bee, for the iust  
measure and limitation, we are wholly ignorant: there  
are giants, there are dwarffs, the Ocean sometimes in-  
croacheth vpon the land, and sometimes the land wins  
ground of the Ocean. And thus it is in mans gouern-  
ment, there are *arcana imperij*, certaine hidden secrets  
of state, which ought not to bee discusst or expostula-  
ted: to prescribe a limitation of power, would argue a  
kinde of subiection in a free Monarch. If euer question  
be made of their power, I will fall downe on my knees,  
and desire God to preuent the first occasion; that Prin-  
ces in their gouernment, may intend Gods glory, the  
good of his Church, the comfort of his people; and  
that subiects knowing whose power and authority they  
haue, may worship God in the Magistrate, with all hu-  
mility and obedience. For if the parts should oppose  
themselues to the head, if the hand or the foote should  
contend with the eye, what a miserable distraction  
should you finde in the whole man? Gouernment  
should rather tend to vnity, then be an occasion of strife  
and disagreement: let all parts rather strue to gaine  
each other, and to preuent each other with mutuall  
kinde




kinde offices of loue, then contending with needlesse questions, to disquiet themselues before any iust cause be offered.

I say, not to examine the prerogatiue of Princes, or to what lawes they are subiect; for I will easily yeeld, that where they are not expressely mentioned, and doe binde themselues by their owne royall assent, there they are to be excluded: according to the president and plot-forme of nature, *semper excipiendum est primum in unoquoque genere*. Yet sure I am, that they are not exempted from the miseries and sorrowes of our nature, which seeme to be incident and common to flesh and bloud; for nature in making her lawes requires no royal assent, and this shall appeare by this one instance. I haue obserued this in my reading, that most of the Princes, and especially the greatest, if they escaped the cursed attempts of cruell murderers and traytors; I say, in most of them you shall finde, that their death hath bin seasoned or rather hastened, with a grieffe of minde, a deepe melancholy, and a great discontentment. That God might make it appeare, that there is no true ioy in nature; that God might let them vnderstand their owne pride, who being flattered by their seruants and slaues, did expect that the winde and the sea should obey them. Hauing neuer learned true christian patience and humility, though they conquered their enemies, yet the least grieffe did vanquish them; though they subdued great nations, and ruled great kingdomes yet could they not rule their owne passions. It is impossible that a mortall man should be freed from all causes of grieffe, though hee were an absolute Monarch of the whole world; Princes must learne patience, for amongst all their prerogatiues, they shall finde none, whereby they are exempted and excluded from sorrow, which indeed is incident to the whole nature of man.

Their melancholy death.





Wherefore  
serue our mi-  
series.

Thus heere I haue briefly runne thorough all the happy states of men, that so I might say with the Apostle, *omnia factus sum omnibus, ut aliquos lucrarer*; and truly I do finde, that God hath inclosed all men in one common depth of misery. For if ioy (and true ioy) could bee competent to this our corrupted nature, then certainly God would neuer haue expelled man <sup>from</sup> paradise: for heere was the wisdom of God, that whereas blessings and happinesse could not containe man within the bounds of obedience, therefore man being thrust into a vaile of misery, his owne sorrow might inforce him to crie for succour and releife. That so the iustice of God might appeare in the iust punishment of sinne, that so it might serue as a more forcible meanes for mans repentance and conuersion; for in this sinfull state, man is more moued with feare and sorrow, then with thankfulness or hope. Though I cannot peirce the clouds, and open the heauens to shew the maiesty and glory of God, for no man could euer see God and liue: though I cannot allure and entice man with a true relation and discouerie of those heavenly ioyes; though I cannot oblige and binde man vnto God, in the chaines and linkes of true loue and thankfulness, by a serious and weighty meditation of all the blessings received from God, which might concerne either body or soule, this life or a better life, his creation, preservation, redemption, sanctification, &c. Yet am I able in some sort to anatomize the state of man, to lay open his miseries and grieffe, that being once out of the arke, and seeing these turbulent waues, hee might finde no resting place, but againe returne to the arke; taking a dislike and a distaste in nature, he might bethinke himselfe of his flight, and so finde safe refuge and shelter in Gods onely protection, and comfort himselfe in the hope and expectation of a better world to succeed; as all those



those run-agates which were discontented with the gouernment of *Saul*, were very apt and easily inclined to flie vnto *Dauids* campe.

From the feuerall states of men, let vs come to the feuerall dispositions of man in himselfe; obserue the changes and reuolutions of our mindes, for (if you please) we will trace them by degrees, from the time of our infancy, how they alter with the course of our age. First wee begin to delight in crackers and royes, some little bable hung about the necke, some corall with silver bels, or a little Christall: but these seeme to be the proper implements belonging to the cradle; they are indeed the Nurses ornaments, and together with the cradle they must be left for succession.

We are no sooner hatched, but presently wee must haue a feather in the cap, a dagger at the backe; then in stead of a true paradise, we are brought into a fooles paradise; wee are made to beleue, that all is ours; the land is ours, the house is ours, the goods, possessions, all are ours: seeme to take away any thing, and the whole house shall not bee able to containe vs; exclude but any one fruite, it shal grieue vs more, then the enioying of all the fruites of the garden can assuage vs. Now at length begins our sports; for our recreation we runne puffing, blowing, sweating, and wearied in hunting after butterflyes, (here is excellent sport indeed); for our callings and courses of life, we purchase pinnes, poynts, and cherie-stones; these we aduēture at feuerall games, that so very profitably we might increase our stock, our wealth and our treasure: this is our trade and course of life, and heere is thrift and frugalitie from the cradle. Bot in the meane time giue me leaue to complaine of a point of iniustice, I protest it is meere iniustice; their parents and schoolemasters whip them for idlenesse; idlenesse? what idlenesse? I would they were no more idle

The feuerall  
delights of our  
age.

The delights  
of our child-  
hood.



The delights  
of our elder  
yeeres.

themselves: in truth they doe them great wrong, for they are as painfull, as earnest, as attentive to their own gaine, as possibly any man can be in his ordinarie vocation; there is as great sorrow in the losse of a poynt, and as true ioy in the winning of a few pinnes, as if they were farre better merchandize. If you tell me of the basenesse of the commoditie; my answer is, that the whole world is but a point, all is but vanitie, and all consists in the fantasie.

When our stock after a few yeeres is increased, then we desire to trade with the merchant-pedler; his packe is opened, we come to the mart, here wee buy lases and glasses, bugles and bracelets, ribons and roses; O the most profitablest member of the Common-wealth! nothing grieues vs so much, as that we haue not credit, to take vp money at interest, to buy these rare and excellent commodities: as for the Schooles, wee cannot yet be resolved, nor cannot possibly conceiue, why there should be such places of tormētts appointed for so little purpose. At length wee are conducted to the Vniuersitie, where wee begin to admire, the rare and incomparable learning of a Sophister, who can so punctually discourse of the elements; though hee wants money to buy bookes, yet he can dispute of the tincture of gold. And thus, if I shall runne thorough all the seuerall degrees of Schooles, from the Lamb-skinne to the Skarlet; or if I should diuert my course, and consider any other state and condition of life, the profession of Law, their Magistrates and officers; the Citizens with their Companies and Corporations; the Courtiers with their honours and dignities; I might conclude all with this one axiome in policie, that things, which consist in appearance, are greater furthest off, then neerest at hand.

But I cannot content my selfe, thus to runne through the courses of our liues, you shall then obserue, the  
strange



strange different iudgements in one and the same man, according to the periods of his age, as concerning the delights of his age: for as we grow elder and elder, so we dislike our former condition, and therein seeme to accuse it of follie. Before wee come to tenne yeeres of age, we haue no iudgement at al, and therefore we cannot passe our iudgement; but being come to those yeeres, wee will not bee handled and dallied like children, wee will not be so easily led with faire promises, but we grow head-strong, and thinke our selues wiser then our teachers. If once wee attaine vnto twentie, then we make choice of the course of our liues; if any one shal tell vs of our childishnes, or call vs by the most opprobrious name of boyes, wee hold it a great disgrace, a foule shame and disparagement to our selues; for wee seeme so farre to dislike their sports, that wee scorne to conuerse with them. Comming once vnto thirtie, then wee bethinke our selues, that the time is come, when we might doe the King and the countrey some seruice, that the world might take notice of our sufficiencie; we doe likewise thinke of our mariage, to what stock and familie we might ioyne our selue; and we affect nothing so much as wisdom and discretion, that leauing the riotous and dissolute courses of young men, we might be reputed Sages. When once wee arrive vnto fortie, then wee begin to feare and distrust, lest all our former vaine hopes will faile vs; wee will not so much relie vpon others, but looke to our selues, be carefull to provide for our wiues and our children; enquire after purchases, and desire to enlarge our owne meanes. When fiftie yeeres are expired, then wee take thought of placing our daughters in mariage, taking order to provide for our youngest sonnes, and here we begin to affect gouernment; experience hath made vs wise, we finde the losse of our former errors, and if we were

The degrees  
of our age ac-  
cording to  
decads.



were to begin the world againe, wee would alter our course, &c. At length fixe drawes on, when all our care is to settle our estate, that no occasion be left to the wrangling contention of posteritie; and here we talke much of the Chynaclicall yeere, and begin to distrust our owne liues. If seuentie yeeres doe passe ouer, then we expect the reuerence of fathers, we are froward and testie and hard to bee pleased; the inward griefe makes euery outward obiect, seeme to bee a iust occasion of griefe; we condemne of follie and vanitie, all the courses of life, all the states in the world, all the actions of men, accusing the times, when as indeed the alteration consists in our selues; vntill at length we bid adiew to all worldly ioyes, and betake our selues to our ease, expecting our dissolution.

The censure of  
a dead man.

Suppose a rich man of this world, were now vpon the point of death, how often should this man bee moued to make his last Will and Testament, to leaue all things in quiet and peaceable possession? what writings, what sealings, what witnesses, how many Scriueners, how many Lawyers should bee imployed? when all this time they seeme to neglect that *unum necessarium*, the preparation of his soule for God; that in his death he might be a true Christian sacrifice, an oblation freely offered vp vnto God. Suppose (I pray) that a few houres were past, and this rich man dead; and that I could by some strange enchantment raise vp his spirit, or make this dead man speake: then I would demaund of him, what hee thought of the greatnes and glorie of this world. Assuredly he would lesse esteeme of all the kingdomes, empires, wealth, and worldly honour, then we doe at this time of the toyes and trifles of children: and certainly as it is with the dead, in respect of vs, so shall it be with vs in respect of our posteritie; wee forget them, and our posteritie shall forget vs; wee looke onely

*Tempora no culpes  
cu sis tibi causa doloris*



onely to the present, and therein losing the dignitie of the reasonable soule, which consists in the foresight, we are carried like beasts in the strength of our owne apprehension.

Thus I haue laboured, to shew the greatnesse of mans miserie in the truth of his sorrow, while all his supposed ioyes and delights, seeme to be meere vanities, and to consist in the fantasie, and in his owne apprehension; if you doubt of this, I will alleage certaine instances, that so it may appeare by experience. I would heere gladly aske, wherein man receiues his greatest contentment? I suppose either 1. in his sweete conuenient dwelling and habitation, 2. or in his apparell and clothing, 3. or in his diet and foode, 4. or in his goods and his substance, 5. or lastly, in the comelinesse of his own person. These are the things, wherein the mind of man seemes to delight; which if you please to obserue, you shall finde that the fantasie doth ouerrule all: and as men doe perswade themselves, according to those ends which men doe propose vnto themselves; thereafter they frame and fashion to themselves some kinde of contentment, supposing that in the creature, which indeed is bred in their fantasie.

Certainly of al worldly contentments, there is none like to the home-contentment, wherein the Master disposeth all things to his best liking; nothing can displease him, all his seruants are bound to obey him; he is as a Prince in his familie, it were pettie treason to offer violence to his person, his house is his castle; if he takes the refuge of his house, and his enemy pursues him, he may lawfully kill him in his owne defence, for heere is his last refuge. This not only our law allowes, but nature seemes to imprint it; the least bird in his own nest; the weakest creature at his own denne, and in his own home, will set vpon the greatest and strongest, and put him

Wherein mans  
greatest contentment  
consists.

The home-  
contentment.



Our houses  
are sometimes  
our prisons.

him to flight. There is no contentment to the home-contentment; and therefore those creatures which carrie their tents or houses about them, these are supposed to be the happie creatures, as Snayles, Tortoyes, Oyfters, &c.

But suppose, that the Magistrate should inforce me to keepe mine own home, that mine own house should proue mine owne prison; Lord how I should be perplexed to lose mine own liberty! all my places of pleasure should giue me no contentmēt, my seruants would seeme to be my keepers and iaylors, and mine owne doores would seeme to bee the prison gates: then I should want elbow-roome, complaine for want of fresh ayre: what a torment it is to be incaged, & what a happinesse it is to conuerse and to liue in the societies of men! See here, there is no change or alteration in nature, the house is the same, the furniture the same, the lodging and dwelling the same; only the difference is in the minde, and the fansie: before we conceiued our state to be a libertie, and now we thinke it a thraldome and flauerie; here is the difference, and all consists in the fansie. Againe, if I were a mercilesse Vsurer, and that any one of my debtors (for feare of an arrest) should keepe his owne house, I would gladly aske, what difference there is betweene his condition and his imprisonment? and truly this very thought should moue my hard heart to compassion. Why should the laitie so much oppose themselves to Church-Sanctuaries? which might still haue continued in a tolerable sort: for what were the Sanctuaries but religious prisons? where true penitentiaries in the thraldome of their bodies, with mortification and sorrow, might exercise the actions of pietie and deuotion.

On the contrarie side, leauing the thraldome of prisons, let vs come to the sumptuous and magnificent buildings.



buildings. If a King or a Nobleman shall commit the keeping of one of his best and fairest houses, to the trust of his seruant; the house cost many thousands in the building, the seruant makes choice of his own roomes, and takes al the delight that the house can affoord him; the gardens well dressed, the houses repaired, all at his Masters charge, and himselfe well paied for the keeping: yet all this will not serue, his life is a flauerie, hee holds himselfe a drudge for another mans seruice, and lookes vpon this beautifull building, as his charge or his trouble, but not as his pleasure. Whereas the good old Master, that liues in the Citie, fancies to himselfe a pleasure in his cōtrie-dwelling: and being merily disposed, loues to discourse of the conuenient walkes, and of the neate-contriued buildings; it should seeme hee sees it with some strange opticke glasses, for his gowte will not permit him to trauell, and to enioy these pleasures; or rather he conceiues the platforme, and builds in his own fansie and imagination. It were to be wished, that rather he would looke vp to heauen, and there conceiue an earnest of that ioy, which by the speciall mercie of God, shall be imparted vnto him, in a full measure and consummation.

For our apparell, see how the whole world runnes wandring, and gadding, in the strength of their owne imaginations; euery moneth brings foorth a new fashion, which for a time seemes to be the best: I must not stay long vpon fashions, which alwaies alter & change, lest I my selfe might proue out of fashion. Let vs search out for some new stuffe; euery nation, though proud of her selfe, and boasts of her selfe, and esteemes her selfe aboue others, yet she scornes to weare her owne native and home-bred commodities. The English cloath, which here we neglect at home, when it hath enriched the Merchant, discharged the custome, and paied for the

The pleasure of the house is according to mans owne apprehension.

2

Our delight in our apparell.



the carriage, then the Dutchman esteemes it at a high price; while wee on the other side desire to clothe our selues with the Naple silke, with farre fetcht and deare bought outlandish wares. Thus other Countries like ours, and we like theirs; it may be, we intend to deceiue each other in the sale: sure I am, though wee differ in iudgement, yet wee agree in the vanitie, and all of vs grow wanton in our owne dispositions.

3  
Our vanitie in  
our diet.

As it is in our clothing, so it is in our food; for fooles must haue their ladles, as well as their partie-coloured coates. When we liue in the Inland countries, then we begin to long for sea-fish; as is the scarfitie and price, so is our longing and desire; where there is plentie, there we neglect it. Me thinks the Colchester Oysters neuer taste so well, as when they are bought in Northampton: fresh Salmon at Newcastle is meate for seruants and colliers, for no man of worth will respect it; the Phesant in Wales eates no better then a Puller; in London wee desire to feede vpon poultrie, and in our countrie houses we thirst for a cup of neate wine; wee temper our sweete meates with sowre sauces: and thus we are growne wanton. Sometimes when we haue not whereof to complaine, we will long for fruites out of season; a few cherries in May shall be sold for their weight in siluer, when in the latter end of Iune, they shall not be worth the gathering. And thus we desire a new course of nature, and will not conforme our selues to Gods appointed good order.

4  
Mans different  
valuation of  
his owne  
wealth.

For our goods or our substance; what great varietie appeares in our choice and estimation? Sometimes the siluer is raised, sometimes the gold is inhaunced; and both of them, though otherwise the principall treasures, yet they follow mans owne valuation: if money were made of leather, it would be as currant, as if it were made of the most refined gold. As in numbring,  
we



we vse counters sometimes for digets, sometimes for hundreds, sometimes for thousands; so is it in mans valuation of his owne wealth. In some parts of India copper is respected before gold; and sometimes Steele for their weapons and armour, cannot be bought with the weight in siluer. What strange difference and varietie haue I knowne in our estimation of Jewels and gemmes? sometimes the Rubie, sometimes the Pearle, aswell as the Diamond, growes in request; for these must follow the course of the times. And therefore generally he is reputed the wise man, not who frames and fashions himselfe according to right reason, but he that can square himselfe according to y<sup>e</sup> condition of those times wherein hee liues; for things are not accounted according to the truth and goodnesse of their nature, neither are all things as they appeare, but as they are esteemed among men. And herein especially consists the regall power of man, that as it is proper to Princes, to make their own coynes, and to proclaime them; so, as man himselfe accounts of the creatures, or stands in want of the creatures, thereafter they carrie their due valuation.

It is no marueile, if we doe so much differ in our goods, our substance and treasure; for I do much more wonder, how it is possible, that man should so farre mistake himselfe in his owne person, I meane concerning his comelinesse and beautie; for I will not extend my speech at this time, but onely to the sensible and materiall parts of man. As for example, with vs the sanguine and cleere complection, the soft flaxen or browne haire, the smooth skinne, the blacke and quick eye, are most commendable, for the comelinesse of our parts: but it should seeme, that the greatest part of the world is not of our iudgement; for the Æthiopians or Moores doe not esteeme him beautifull, that hath not a blacke  
and

5  
The beautie  
of different  
complexions.



and sooty skinne, a grislie hard-twisted and curld black haire, great lips, and albugineous eyes: from the Æthiopians, if wee should visite the Indians, there it should seeme the tawnie colour is most in request; and the hard skinne rand with the Sunnes heate, seemes to bee the faire and beautifull complection. And thus we cannot agree vpon our owne colours: the same fauour is not alike pleasing to all nations; if wee should with a generall consent borrow our beaurie from one common boxe, then happily there would be some kinde of agreement: but now in our naturall constitution, see the great difference, when euery man must fanfie a set forme of beaurie to himselfe, and please himselfe with that beaurie.

We must condemn nature,  
if we iustifie  
our selues.

Thus (I hope) it hath appeared, that whatsoever is best pleasing to man, it is therefore best pleasing, because man himselfe conceiues the greatest pleasure therein: not because he is so naturally inclined, not because he is moued with the truth of things, according to their goodnesse, for so all men should be alike affected; reason is the same in all, and euery other thing doth naturally incline to the best; onely man hauing a free will to make his owne choice, the libertie of his choice is not guided by nature, or by reason, but by his affection. Otherwise we should not disagree in our fauour and comelineffe: for the Owle will not boast of her beaurie, but is ashamed of her selfe. We should not differ or vary in our goods, or our substance, but should iudge and esteeme all things, according to the in-bred and naturall goodnesse: for there are degrees in the creatures, both in themselues, and as they are fitted for mans present vse and occasions. We should be all clothed alike, as flowers and fruits of the same kinde, haue alwaies the same colours: our diet and food should be alike, as it is to all other creatures, whose nature is the same:



same : neither should wee so much dissent in our dwellings and habitations ; for birds in building their nests, and beasts in making their caues, seeme to obserue the same rules of art and proportion. And therefore wee must either accuse nature of follie, to iustifie our selues, or else we must truly acknowledge, that wee our selues are not carried, according to the truth of things, but in the strong apprehension of our owne fanisie.

But heere is all the difficultie, how I should weane man from these fanisies ; I could wish, that in all my dealings with men, I might meet with reasonable creatures ; for then I should know, vpon what grounds I might deale ; I might gesse how farre by all likelihood and probabilitie I should preuaile ; for wee are both squared to one rule, the same reason would direct vs both. But if I meete with vnreasonable men, I know not what course to take ; being once out of the rode-way, lost in the woods, I know not where to make search for them : and if by great chance I should overtake them, yet I cannot accompanie them thorough thickets and bushes ; but must reduce them againe to a great rode, make them first capable of reason, that so I might softly and leisurely proceede vpon my owne grounds. To dissuade the whole world from the pursue of these vanities, were a worke impossible ; for if I should speake with the tongue of men and Angels, I should neuer preuaile, they are so farre besotted, inamoured, made drunken with the immoderate loue of the creatures. As, if their stomackes were overlaid with new wine ; the fumes, vapours, and spirits ascending, would choake vp the braine, and hinder the right vse of their vnderstanding : so is it outwardly with the creatures ; flesh & bloud is wholly corrupted, y world doth seduce them, they behold nothing but vanitie : but to him that shall recall himself, I would vse these motives.

O

First,

How hardly  
men are wea-  
ned from these  
fanisies.



The loue of  
God, swal-  
lowes vp the  
loue of this  
world.

First the meditation of God and his kingdome, where God himselfe sits in perfect maiesty, *lucem inhabitat inaccessibilem, gloriosus ante secula, trinus & vnus*, where all the hallowes of heauen sit vpon thrones, clothed with glory; hither send vp thy minde and thy spirit, as *Iosua* sent forth his spies to discover the promised land; or as the Queene of *Saba* made a long iourney to see the magnificence of *Salomons* Court. But heerein thou canst not bee ignorant of thine owne condition, being indeed a pilgrime heere vpon earth, *in statu via*, not *in statu patriæ*; thou mayest well mistake thy selfe in the meanes, though otherwise thou desirest to attaine thine owne proper end. If it were possible for man to behold God, and truly to know him, being indeed the very end of mans creation, assuredly nothing should withould him from the loue of his maker; if the eye could behold the sunne, we should neuer cast our eyes from the sunne, as being the most beautifull obiect, but this cannot stand with our weaknesse; for now God is concealed as in the vaile of his manhood, so thou seest not his hinder parts, but onely his shadow in the creatures.

The vanity  
of the crea-  
tures, should  
keepe vs from  
the loue of the  
creatures.

Secondly, if for want of sufficient light, being left to thy selfe, thou still continue in darkenes; and that the meditation of God, together with all thy blessings receiued from God, in the whole course of thy life, with all the promises of ioy to succeed, haue not such an attractive power, as that they can draw thee to God; then consider thine owne proper misery, and all thy supposed ioyes, and pleasures to be but meere vanities, and delusions, such as can giue thee no true contentment or ioy. For a Postiller brings forth this instance, (very fitly to this purpose); A rawe bone, wherein there was neither moysture nor sap, was cast to a hungry dog for his pray; the dog very greedily bites and gnawes on it, and finding



ding the hardnesse to be such, as that it would not easily yeeld to his teeth, yet he forsakes it not, but at length bites his owne lip, and finding the warmth and sweetness of his owne bloud, therein begins to delight, and thinkes it comes from the bone; and thus it is with all our worldly pleasures, we esteeme them for pleasures, the world houldes them for pleasures, men doe generally repute them for pleasures; and I protest, heere is all the pleasure I finde in them. *Voluptates non venientes sed abeuntes respice*, bee rightly informed of thy pleasures, doe not esteeme of them, as they come vnto thee, in the greedines of thy minde, and thy passion: but as they leaue and forsake thee, then remember thy pleasures, and iudge of them accordingly; and let the meditation heereof giue thee occasion to dislike and distaste nature, and to hasten thy approach vnto God.

Thirdly, if neither meditation of God, nor the view of these vanities can sufficiently instruct thee; then I could wish, that thou hadst a glut and surfeit of thy delights, and that triall were made, what contentment nature could yeeld thee. Certaine it is, that if there may be a surfeit, then the creatures are to bee taken in moderation; and that they are not the scope of mans happines. As (for example) suppose I were sicke, I would desire health without limitation; health, health, and nothing but health; but for my physicke be it neuer so soveraigne and pretious, yet still I would take it in a certaine dozis and measure (as it were) to be fitted for the recouery of my health. Now certaine it is, that there may be a surfet, for otherwise why shouldest thou delight in the variety and succession of thy pleasures and sports? but suppose thou hadst all possible contentment, which nature could affoord thee; yet grow wise by experience, iudge of thy selfe by others, runne ouer all former examples, consider all states, callings and professions

Neuer man  
found contentment in  
the creatures.



The tale of a  
religious man.

essions of men, and as it is with them, so conceiue it would bee with thy selfe. *Alexander* hauing gotten the whole world, began to enquire, whether there were any more worlds to bee conquered; for it is not this world that can giue vs contentment: we must lay seige to another world, heauen must suffer violence; and therefore the sponse in the Canticles is compared to an armie and hoste of fighting men, fighting for victory and triumph.

To giue thee some ease and recreation, in this my longe tedious discourse; I will heere tell thee a tale, to this purpose. A certaine religious man, hauing often dissuaded some worldlings frō the immoderat loue of the creatures, and being neuer able to preuaile; at length bethought himselfe how he might satisfie their desires, and resolved on this course; that if he could but giue them a glut and surfeit of the creatures, then they would the more easily forbear. And calling them together, making his complaint that hee could no more moue them, with his earnest and continuall perswasions; in the end tould them, that now it had pleased God, to deale so graciously both with him and with them, as that hee had sufficient plenty, whereby hee might satisfie all their requests; and to this end, wished them to aduise, what one thing in this world might giue them all contentment. Heere began a wise and a serious consultation amongst them, what they should aske; some desired all their portion in siluer and gould, but others seemed to refuse that motion, for the same coyne is not euery where current, and it only followes mans valuation; they did likewise feare and suspect his chimicall gould, which (as they had heard) was onely counterfeit, and had not the naturall and true properties of gould, and was not physicall, and would not endure the touch: others therefore thought fit, to beg  
filkes,



silkes, wares, and household stuffe: but heere was a great doubt ; for if they should haue them in such plentie, they would beare no rate, neither could they long be continued, for the moth would consume them : a third sort thought fit to haue cattell and beasts, but then heere grew the mischief, how they should keepe them for want of fodder and stuble : many others had their feuerall plots and their proiects, but at length all agreed, and the fore-man of the iury in the name of the rest, gaue in this verdict ; that about all, lands and groundes were to be sought, for it was the mother earth which was the foundation, and brings forth all other commodities ; and therefore all of them did desire a competent demaine, a large parke, sufficient medow, good arable and pasture, and wood-land for timber and fuell ; this was the summe of their petition.

The religious man replied, that although it were much easier for him, to supply any other commoditie then this, yet heerein hee would not bee wanting: but promised vpon his honesty and credit, to giue them their full contentment; and yet I will not (quoth hee) remoue the land-markes of my neighbours, I will not vniustly intrude vpon other mens possessions, I will not tempt God to desire a new creation, or that God would enlarge the earth, and giue it a greater circumference. But heere is my intent, some two acres of ground were left me by inheritance, these I purpose to giue, and am content to part with amongst you: bring hither your cartes, and your waynes; dig it, delue it, carry it, all is yours, I will giue you the free and franke possession of it. Do you answere me, that it is not worth the digging and carriage? then assuredly you are much mistakē in iudgement, that haue made so bad a choice, as first to demand it. Doe you aske, me where you shall lay it? euen where you please, in your harts, in your  
O 3  
mouthes,

He satisfies  
their request.



mouthes, in your purses, in your coffers, the world is spacious and wide, fill vp the huge Ocean, and make it champion; if you make it a bottome, there you shall haue the rich meadow: if you raise it and make it a leuel, here is the fruitfull corne ground: if you giue it some higher ascent, then you shall haue it in wood-land and pasture. O how happy are the rich men of this world! but wherefore doe ye thus prolong the time? bring hither your spades, here is earth enough, heere is land enough: if my plenty failes, let me beare the blame; whatsoeuer is wanting in the latitude and extension, you shall finde it in the depth and profunditie. I pray dig, I pray dig, and when ye are once gone 3500. miles hence, (for all is mine,) then you shall come to the center of the earth, heere you shall trie admirable conclusions of nature, how after so great a descent, the earth shall still be aboue you, (still be aboue you, for indeed it is alwayes aboue you, and you are slaues to the earth) where it shall fall of it owne accord, and so shall ease you of a great part of your labours. Here if *Archimedes* were liuing, he would apply his engines and tooles for mouing the earth; but stay your hands, hould, hould, let vs not vniustly incroach vpon the boundes of our neighbours, the Antipodes; if we should contend in suite, I feare it would proue a leading case, and I would not willingly spend my selfe in their demurres. But now I call to minde, we shall not need to trespasse vpon them, when their owne boundes shall fall of themselves. Heere thorough a hollownes of the earth, you may with some labour creepe into another world, a new found and vnknowne world, happily vnpeopled and vnhabited; but if otherwise furnisht and stockt with people, yet like sons of the earth *terra filij*, hauing past thorough the wombe and bowels of the earth, you may well claime your right of inheritance.

Heere



Here one began to enquire of this religious man, who should keepe them, and how they should liue in the meane time ? whereunto hee replied, that it was prouidently spoken ; and yet hee doubted not, but in their digging they should finde out a myne of siluer or gold, which might well pay for their labours. As yet he neuer made triall, and therefore could say nothing to the contrary, only in conscience he was bound to suppose and to belecue the best : but it should seeme, that the concourse of people was great, for euery man came to the marte, expecting large possessions in this franke distribution, the time was likewise prolonged, and many meetings were appointed, for euery man hoped, that this man generally reputed religious, should be as good as his word, and performe his promise. Now in the meane time, one of them died ; heere this religious man tooke iust occasion, to shew them the vanity of their desires : and first hee points at the breathlesse carcasse, vncouers it ; how pale and horrid it lookes ! can you behold it without fearfulness ? Where is the blood ? where is the fresh colour ? the curl'd lockes, the proud lookes, the aspiring thoughts, the soft cheeks, the cherrie lips, the gripple hands, the greedie heart ? What shal you neede to desire such large possessions, when the length of a few feet shall serue to containe and inclose you ? Here I will stop his mouth with earth, that he shal not be able once to aske or to crie for more earth. Here let vs open a pit ; see how the creeping and the crawling wormes come forth to expect their bootie : his mouth shall be filled with earth, his bellie with earth ; all is earth, and nothing but earth. For it is the property of true loue, to vnite and couple together : His loue to the earth, shall conuert his whole body to earth. Heere let vs burie him, and heere is the end of all your vaine hopes ; onely our comfort is, that hee is gone to  
O 4 another

Our worldly  
appetites are  
satisfied in  
death.



The Authors  
intent in this  
second part.

another world, where wee shall follow him; there hee doth now rest from his labours; and here we must only labour for that rest; and so my tale is ended.

Now recalling my selfe, I will draw to a conclusion: my intent in this second part of my Treatise was; first, to open mans miseries to himselfe, that seeing his condition, he might flie to his maker, to change or relieue his condition. For certainly, as the state now stands, creatures are onely subiect to sorrow; no creature so wretched as man; no man so miserable, as is the Christian man with his fastings, repentance, and passions, were it not for the hope of his happinesse. Secondly, lest man might flatter himselfe and be deluded, with a fond conceited opinion of his owne ioyes, I discovered all our worldly pleasures to be but fancies; that hauing no true ground of happinesse in our selues, wee might cast vp our anchor of hope vnto heauen, and so stay our selues from falling; expecting *Iacobs* ladder, and Angels descending and ascending, that Christ being once exalted in power, might draw all vnto himselfe. Heere was the scope of my intent; for I did obserue the strange actiuity of mans soule, which could not be contained within it selfe, but must bee necessarily diffused; if not to the Creator; then to the creature. And I did perswade my selfe, that if I could but sufficiently repaire the bankes, and hinder the violent intrusion of waters; that then the riuer would keepe it owne channell, and runne to the Ocean: for thus man is onely directed to God. And therefore (as at all times) we ought to detest the immoderate and excessiue loue, or abuse of the creatures; so sometimes wee should forbear the tolerable and lawfull vse. Though God may bee worshipped in them; yet lest they should steale our selues from our selues, and cast a mist vpon our sacrifice (the frailty of our nature being so easily led and carried away



way with the outward allurements of the world, and with the inward strong temptations of the flesh); lest being associates, they might bereave God of his honour; and though in themselves they are means to stirre vp loue and thankfulness to God; yet through our abuse, they might bee an occasion of our fall: and therefore it were to bee wished, that they might not come nearer within the compasse of our sacrifice, then is besitting the naturall ceremonies, to set forth the honour and dignitie of the seruice.

This shall appeare by the counsell of God himselfe, though otherwise he allowes, and approues the honest callings and professions of men; yet he appointed a day, free from all worldly labours, to the memorie and seruice of himselfe. So for the place of his worship, he appointed a Temple, separated from all worldly employments: to make it a house of Merchandize (though Merchandize be an honest calling) were to make it a denne of theeuers; to exchange money there, though otherwise it be for the vse of the Temple, were to rob God of his honour. Yet this was not in *sancto sanctorum*; in the holiest of holies, where no man had accessse but onely the high Priest, and that but once in the yere: this was not in the Temple, but in *atrio templi*, in the court of the Temple. As much in effect, as if I should say; to sell things in the Church-yard, which are for the vse of the Temple, were a great prophanation of the Temple. So God requires the whole and entire heart, and no part thereof must be left for the creature: *primogenitum*, the first begotten must be consecrated to God; and the heart of man is the first begotten in man. The practice of the Church, doth follow the counsell of God: in our prayers we are called vpon, *sursus corda*, to lift vp our hearts. Notwithstanding that God is euery where, yet for feare of annoyance, which might redound

How apt the  
creatures are  
to obscure  
Gods glory.



How all our  
ioyes are  
counterfeit.

redound vnto vs from the creatures, wee are admonished to worship God aboue the sphere of the creatures: our Church-men and Priests, as being a whole burnt offering, consecrated to God, are separated from the secular condition of men. And in confessing our sinnes, lest there should be some kind of delight, in the remembrance of some sinne, we are therefore enioyned a silence; though otherwise confession seemes to be necessarie to repentance.

To conclude, the truth of our misery shall speak and discouer it selfe, with our cries, our grones, and complaints; and the vanity of al our worldly pleasures herein appeares; when wee purpose to bee most merrie and iouiall, then must wee lay aside our owne persons, and grauity; we must alter and change our owne shapes, to make our selues capable of pleasures and delights. Wee vse masking, mumming, enterludes, Playes, some strange and anticke daunces; all which I commend, as being honest, harmelesse, and lawfull sports; though otherwise it may appeare, that vsing these shewes, wee haue but the shewe of true ioy, and are very miserable and wretched in our selues; that are inforced thus to transforme our selues, to find out some pleasures. Againe, suppose that a mans whole life were spent in a continued shewe: suppose, that man wanted neither foode, nor raiment, and perswaded himselfe, that hee were none of the ordinary sort of men, none of the common ranke and condition; but some great honorable Peere; some grand-child, descended from the great Oneale; that Princes, and Ladies haue died with their modesty for loue of him; that all men doe either admire, or enuie his vertues; that with his wisdom he is able to settle and establish the gouernment of kingdomes. I would gladly know, what difference there were betweene this counterfeit, and a true Peere?

All



All honour consists onely in reputation and esteeme, and hath little ground-worke in nature; the one is as confident of his honour, as the other, and both alike are perswaded: *animus cuiusque est quisque*, it is the mind, which (according to her owne apprehension) giues al the contentment. Now where is the difference? There is as much (I confesse) as there is betweene error and truth; but all consists in the imagination; and were there not some difficultie in a man, thus to perswade, and to flatter himselfe, it were an excellent kind of delusion.

Thus truly acknowledging our miseries, we are likewise enforced to confesse the rewards of our sinne, and the fruits of Gods iustice: yet calling to mind the mercies of God, which ouerflow all his workes: *miserationes domini super omnia opera eius*: in this our wauering and slipperie state, being fallen into the depth of sinne, wee erect and lift vp a pillar of faith and hope, which laying hold and apprehending the mercies of God, doth assure our owne soules, that there is a better world to succeed: where true happinesse, and a crowne of glory is reserued for Gods Saints. And therefore these worldly pleasures being but shadowes, and all our delight consisting onely in the fanisie, should not withhold vs in the pursuite of that true happinesse. Herein I doe magnifie and acknowledge the goodnes and providence of God; that as man in his condition is rather spirituall, then carnall; for his minde (according to right reason) should gouerne his flesh: and as the last end of man, the happinesse whereunto man is ordained, and directed, is wholly spirituall; as is the knowledge, the loue, and the vniting with the Godhead: so, lest man should proue too much a slaue to his sense, and his carcasle; it hath pleased God still to permit, that all mans delights and pleasures should reside in the fanisie, which

Why all our  
delights should  
consist in the  
fanisie.



which is but onely a shadow of our true vnderstanding, rather then any earthly ioy or contentment should truly and really possesse vs.

And that you might not conceiue, that this is my priuate opinion; I will therefore (in one word) take a view, what the Gentiles, the Iewes, and the Christians, haue thought of this truth; and what effects the meditation hereof hath wrought vpon the. You shall then obserue, y<sup>e</sup> the consideration of mans present state & condition, moued the ancient Heathen Philosophers to take whole nature, and to set it in a limbecke, so to distill it; wherein they found by the force of fire, the vnresistable power of reason; that all nature did either euaporate to a fume, or a smoake, which indeed is the vanity of the creatures; or else did settle downe, as the grosse and earthly part in the bottome; and this is the misery of the creatures: & from hence proceeded two seuerall sects of Philosophers, of different and contrary dispositions; the one laughing at the vanity, the other weeping at the miserie; and both of them esteemed very wise in their owne generation.

But when the naturall light of reason is left to it selfe, it is but a kinde of darkenesse; for nature is partiall to her selfe, and out of her owne loue, to her selfe, cannot wholly condemne herselfe. I will therefore come to the Iewes, whose eyes were better enlightened with Gods Law, though they had but shadowes of mysteries, and only types and figures of a true sacrifice, yet were they sufficiently instructed how to condemne nature: and they proceeded further then the Heathen Philosophers; drawing nature to a greater height, and making some better extraction; and therefore they do not content themselues with vanities; but they acknowledge that there is a vanity of vanities, when man doth please himselfe with his owne vanities. So likewise

*Democritus, and  
Heraclitus.*

*Salomons cen-  
sure of this  
world.*



likewise there is not only misery, & vexation, but vexation of spirit, when man considers that these miseries heere vpon earth, are the fore-runners of Gods heauie iudgements to come; and therefore *Salomon*, their great, wise, and potent King concludes; *I viewed mine owne workes, to take some contentment in mine owne actions, yet I found none, but all was vanity of vanities, and vexation of mind.*

I am a Christian man, and therein I doe humbly, hartily, and daily thanke God, who (of his mercy) hath called me to this state of saluation. And heere I doe constantly affirme, that there is no ioy or comfort to man, vnlesse it be to the Christian man; whose God appeared in basenesse and misery. And therefore for example and imitaton of that miserable God, (being all parts and members vnder such a mysticall head,) that there might be a conformity between the head, & the members (*ne sit membrum delicatum sub capite spinoso*) hee desires the like miseries, and would willingly and readily imbrace the same passions; as being the holy reliques of his God; and in the course of his miserie, acknowledgeth a diuine prouidence, Gods holy hand, correction and permission. He is well assured, that hee is the miserable man, who offers wrong and iniustice to his innocent brother; who hath iust cause to reioyce, if he suffers the greatest misery vnderferuedly: and considering that all miseries are tending, and ending in death; desiring death as a passage or gate to a better life, *cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo*, hee will bee thus faithfully resolued; *non sunt passionis huius vite condigna ad futuram gloriam, &c.* The miseries and passions of this life are not to bee respected, in regard of that crown of glory, which God hath prepared for his Saints.

*Deo gratias.*

The conclusion of a Christian man.





# THE FALL OF MAN.

## THE THIRD PART.

A Prayer.



*Of the deepe haue I cried vnto thee O Lord, Lord heare my voyce ; one deepe cals vp another, the depth of my sinne, cals for the depth of thy goodnes; the depth of my misery, cals for the depth of thy mercy : in stead of all my worldly vanities, giue me (O Lord) the sweet comfort of thy spirit, and the solid foundation of thy ioy, guide me in these my darke and slippery wayes, by the assistance of thy power. Open my lips, and my mouth shall speake forth thy praise, kindle my heart, that I may enlighten and enflame others; conuert and confirme me, that I may strengthen my brethren : forsake me not O Lord in mine old age when I am gray-headed, untill I haue shewed forth thy glory and praise to succeeding generations ; heare me O Lord, for thou art my God and my sauour in whom I doe trust, thou art the strength and horne of my saluation.*

*If there were no other argument, to perswade me of the naturall corruption of man, but onely the implicite and secret confession of man himselfe, concerning himselfe,*



selfe, together with the daily practice of his actions, this were sufficient. For in what course or condition of life would you suppose man, wherein you should not finde an euident prooffe of his corruption? If man be solitarie and alone; then you shall finde him melancholy, discontented, and in some dislike with himselfe, as it were (for want of others) picking quarrels, and fighting with himselfe? now place him in the company and society of others, and presently hee fallies to banding and factions. Wherefore serues such a number of fencing-schools, or the nature of combates and duels, now at length reduced to the rules and forme of an Art? and such as will not aduenture their bloud in a quarrell, they must contend in suites of law, to the impairing of their substance. Histories are daily written, which discover the subtilties and trickes of state; but sure it is, that there is as much false dealing, close practises, cunning suggestions, dissimulation, breach of promises, and euery way as much dishonesty in a petty, poore, base, paultry Corporatiō, for the choice of their towne-Clerke, their Bailiffe, or some such officer, as you shall finde among the great Bashawes for the vpholding and supporting of the Turkish Empire. The whole world is distracted with factions, and therefore surely theould time was much to be commended, in tolerating, or rather giuing occasion to some countrey may-games and sportes, as dancing, piping, pageants, all which did serue to assuage the cruelty of mans nature; that giuing him some little ease and recreation, they might with-hould him from worser attempts, and so preserve amitie betweene men. Vpon the abolishing of these, you could not conceive in reason, were it not that we finde it true by experience, (for sometimes things which are small in the consideration, are great in the practise) what dissolute and riotous courses? what vn-lawfull

Man is vicious  
and corrupted  
in euery state  
and course of  
life.



How we accuse each other.

lawfull games? what drunkenness? what enuy, hatred, malice, and quarelling haue succeeded in lieu of these harmlesse sports? and these are the fruits, which our strict professors haue brought into the world; I know not how they may boast of their faith (for indeed they are pure professors) but sure I am, they haue banisht all charity.

In our dealings and contracts with men, sometimes we blame the complections and lookes of others, solemnly protesting that we dislike their visage, and will admit no dealings with them; sometimes wee dislike their names, sometimes the whole kindred, the stocke, and the familie; sometimes the whole nation is condemned. Whereas all this time we are much mistaken and deceiued, for either the hate and dislike should be extended, and generally comprehend whole nature, whole mankind, for God sawe all the counsels of men, that they were full of impietie and wickednesse; or else we should contract our hate, and begin first and principally to hate our selues, as consisting equally with them of the same corruption. But behold, for our selues wee haue found out some lurking holes, some retiring places, some speciall priuiledge and indulgence proper to vs: if all other goodly and godly pretenses doe faile, then we can boast of our ancestors, that we are descended from honest & noble parents. Which (certainly) we would neuer doe, were it not, (that implicitly) we confesse the basenesse and vilenesse of our owne nature in generall, and therefore we seeke to couer and conceale our owne shame in particular. Heere we vse scutchions and armes, beafts forsooth must discouer our conditions and qualities, they must shew our parentage; whereas indeed the Prophet hath better described it, *radix tua, & generatio tua ex terra Canaan, pater tuus Amoreus, mater tua Cethea, tuq; ex corrupto semine*: thy father was



was an Amorite, thy mother was a Cethit, and thou art borne and conceiued in sinne, all thy other coates are but counterfeits, sometimes bought with a price; let thy armory consist of a Lyon and of a Lambe: the Lyon of the tribe of Iuda, to enable thee with fortitude and courage; and let the lambe of God teach thee true humility and meekenesse.

Now in our actions, consider the enuie and malignitie of our nature; how apt we are to offend each other, and being once prouoked, how readily we returne euill for euill? how irreconcilable is our hate, we crie for nothing but reuenge? to preach of mercy and forgiveness, *durus hic sermo*, this seemes to bee a hard saying, though indeed it should soften our hard hearts; *habet & musca splenem*, the meanest and basest vassall will meditate and thinke of reuenge, if he sustaines the least supposed wrong from his master and Lord. It should seeme, that our nature being wholly inclin'd vnto euill, we cannot forbear to doe euill, and in the suffering of euill, we must needs repay euill, according to the similitude and likenesse of our nature, when both action and passion are performed by one and the same qualitie: for heate working vpon heate, the greater will allure and draw forth the lesse; and it is onely christian religion, which takes away the corruption of our nature, and giues vs this precept, to ouercome an other mans euill with our own good. But you will say, that common iustice requires (as much in effect) to returne euill for euill, that the reward might be agreeable to the desert: heerein consists your error, that you suppose iustice, which is a commendable vertue, that it can reside betweene vices. There is a proportion I confesse, but an euill proportion, in things that are wholly euill; iustice would rather square out *malum culpa*, to *malum pœna*, the euill of punishment to the euill of transgression, but sinne to be

Man out of his euill disposition, returneth euill for euill.



Man out of his  
euill dispositi-  
on, turneth  
good things  
into euill.

recompensed with sin, heere is no iustice ; I will there-  
fore make a second instance, which shall be beyond all  
exception.

It is proper to the corrupt nature of man, to turne all  
the best qualities into the worst part, like a spider that  
turnes the best substance into poyson, as if an Alchymist  
should breake his owne glasses, waste his oyle, and lay  
vp onely the drosse. Thus great learning tends to con-  
fusion, the best courage is tainted with rashnesse; but in  
our actions betweene men, suppose wee receiue great  
benefits from our benefactors, such as cannot easily be  
recompensed, certainly nothing is so proper to man,  
nothing so commendable in man as thankfulnes: for  
nature prescribes it in euery creature, the earth accor-  
ding to thy labour shall yeeld thee a crop, heere is her  
thankfulnes; the beasts according to thy keeping shall  
bring thee a profit, heere is their thankfulnes. God  
likewise commands it, and seemes to be principally in-  
gaged in our thankfulnes, for it is God that hath given  
vs all ours, our selues, and more then our selues, the  
meanes of our redemption (the sonne of God incarnat)  
is more then our selues, our expected happines is more  
then our present possession. Thus man though finite in  
himselfe, yet is infinitely indebted to God, & is to be tied  
to his thankfulnes accordingly; but God as by himselfe,  
so likewise by others imparts these his blessings. Now  
for our thankfulnes and recompence, will ye heare the  
course of the world? O the cursed and corrupted course  
of this world! we must not be indebted for such kind-  
nesse, which cannot easily bee recompensed; and there-  
fore our manner is, not onely to suppress them, to for-  
get or deny them, but to reward them with all reproch  
and dishonor, as desiring to free our selues, from the  
bondage and captiuity of thankfulnes, whereby wee  
stand obliged to others.

The



The best actions of man, doe they not argue the corruption of man? I will not descend to that question in Theology, whether the morall vertues of the heathen, were not *splendida peccata*, varnished and glorious sins; but among vs Christians, do not many religious and charitable workes proceed from vaine glory? Somtimes the good and preferment which we intend to another, proceeds not from our loue towards him, but in the course of our faction, out of the hate and enmity which we beare to our aduersaries, well hoping that his advancement may serue to abate their pride. Thus the condition of man being wholly sinfull and corrupted, we seeke to prevent sinne with sinne; we can be content to doe ill offices to our superiours, to set them at iar and contention, thereby to secure our selues and to purchase our owne peace. And thus the corrupted dealings of men seeme in some sort, best to agree with their corrupted nature: seldome or neuer shall you finde any action, which doth not faile, either in substance or circumstance; and where there is the least spice of euill, there the whole action is euill; a little soure and corrupted leauen seasons the whole masse. For as it is in our vnderstanding, the conclusion of syllogismes must alwayes follow the worse part, so is it in our morall actions, the least euill changeth the whole nature of the action; and this proceeds from the strong inclination of our nature vnto euill.

If it lies not in our power to returne euill for euill, or to recompense good with euill, or to doe good with an euill intent, yet are we still delighted with euill, wee reioyce to see the hard chances and mis-fortunes of others. O what a pleasant thing it is, to stand on the sea shoare, and to see the poore mariners tost vp and downe with the waues, alwayes in danger of ship-wracke! how many men doe continually attend and waite vpon the execution

Our good actions proceed from an euill intent.

We delight in other mens euils.



We desire  
companions in  
our owne  
evils.

execution of poore prisoners? Thus are wee delighted with euill, out of the sympathy of our nature inclining to euill: little ioy shall ye finde, vpon relation of other mens good, but sometimes great triumphes in the downe-fall of others.

Whereas a feeling of one and the same greife, should teach vs compassion to others, and the right knowledge of our selues: it fals out far otherwise, our ioyes we desire to be whole & entire to our selues, that none should part or share with vs in our happy aduentures; but in our sorrowes and grieife it is our greatest comfort to haue companions. *solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*: the sicke man when hee can be no otherwise ealed, yet if an other shall complaine of the same greife, heere is his comfort. An other mans grieife doth not ease the grieife of his body, but thorough the euill and corruption of his owne minde in the torments of others, he fancies to himselfe a kind of ease and contentment, not looking to the distemper of his owne body, and senses, which, as they come nearest, so they should more immediately concerne him, but sporting himselfe with other mens woe, &c.

The ground of  
policy suppo-  
seth our in-  
bred corrup-  
tion.

Take the particular actions of man, I would gladly know, what is the ground of all Machiauelian policy, but onely this; that supposing the inward corruption of mans nature, it suspects and prevents the worst (for the best will easily helpe and releue it selfe) desiring to secure it selfe, though by the worst meanes; and to purchase her owne safety, though it must bee enforced to wade thorough a bath of mans bloud: and proposing certaine ends to it selfe, answerable to the corrupt inclination thereof, as honor, wealth, pleasure, &c. it respects not the goodnes or the lawfulness of the meanes to attaine it, but onely how they are fitted and accommodated to the present vse and occasion. In the actions

one



one thing is intended, an other pretended; what glorious shewes of piety? what colour of religion, freedom of conscience, the liberty of the subiect, the good of the commons, the profit of the state, the reformation of abuses and grievances? *verba audio*, wee are weary and hoarse in speaking of these excellent delusions; how in all ages projects haue bin found out, to serue for the present turne and at a dead list, these are now growne so thred-bare, common & triuial, that the poore tradesmen can discourse of them. Thus certainly being inwardly corrupted, therein we discouer our nature, and making some faire outward gloss, we seeme implicitly to acknowledge the corruption; though otherwise like bould liers, we desire to varnish and paint ouer our rottenesse.

But policy is a Secret of state, which must be hidden and concealed like a mystery; the rules must not bee diuulged, least they giue way to the practise; the actions cannot be iustified, *non laudantur nisi peracta*, they will not dispute of them, but being once performed, then they will finde out some probable colour to excuse the offence: they will drop downe their fauours, that so distilling their gifts, the memory of their former cruelty may be abolisht, vntil they finde some fit opportunity for a second massacre. Let vs leaue the policies of men, the extent whereof I wil leaue to Gods permission and providence, and to their owne consciences. Doe not the lawes of men, made by the whole body of the kingdom, wherein euery man seemes to haue his voice and free suffrage, do they not suppose mans nature, to bee wholly corrupted? wherefore should they prevent murther, treason, theft, *Sodomie*? wherefore serue so many penall lawes, so many prouisoers? were it not, that mans nature is generally esteemed to be wholly corrupted; and that men might well be suspected for heathen,

The Lawes of  
men suppose  
our naturall  
corruption.



paganes, and infidels, who would attempt sins against God, against nature, against the state, and therefore there must be a punishment for euery offence; and in enacting our statutes, are not the law makers inforced to vse their best wits, all their cunning and skill, with multitudes of words, and long repetitions, least the crochets of mans braine being apt to caull, should finde out some starting holes?

The scope of  
this third part.

I forget my selfe, I forget my selfe, for, speaking of mans corruption, I am so far entangled, that I cannot easily releafe my selfe; being corrupted as wel as others, me thinkes whatsoeuer I see, whatsoeuer I heare, all things seeme to sound corruption. But recalling my selfe, I cannot forget that I haue allotted this third part, to treat onely of those punishments, which are generally related in Scripture, to be the punishments of the first sinne; neither can I speake of all the punishments, for so I should vndertake an infinit task. I must therefore tye my selfe to a certaine number, and considering that the state of this life is a sinfull state, I will resemble it to the state of the Israe'lites in Ægypt, where they were borne in slavery, and could not be deliuered but by their passage thorough the red sea: which is a figure either of our baptisme by water, or of our baptisme by bloud; either of our entrance to grace, or of our entrance to glory. Now answerable to the plagues of Ægypt, I will proportion the number of our punishments; ten plagues of Ægypt, according to the breach of Gods ten Commandements; this number of ten being the most perfect number obserued in our punishments, shall sufficiently argue the perfection of Gods iustice, and our imperfection in sinne.

The Serpent.

And first for the Serpent, which was the first cause of our sinne, and therefore was first accursed of God; consider how the serpent onely, and the serpentine kinde feede



feed more immediatly vpon the earth, and lie groueling on the bellie: which certainly would much detract from the beauty and perfection of nature, were it not, that a iudgement and a sentence past, *super pectus gradieris, terram comedes*, seemes to excuse the basenesse of the serpent, in respect of the worlds perfection; see how the antipathie still continues betweene both, *vir conterit caput, serpens insidiatur calcaneo*, the one strikes at the head, and the other bites at the heele; and thus betweene mortall creatures, there is an immortall enmity.

But I must not thus run ouer the punishments; I will therefore desire you to obserue in the serpent: first, her basenesse in her selfe: secondly, the enmity towards man, *super pectus gradieris*. Gen. 3. 14. *Then the Lord God said to the serpent, because thou hast done this, thou art cursed aboue all cattell, and aboue euery beast of the field, vpon thy belly shalt thou goe, and dust shalt thou eat all the dayes of thy life, &c.* Will nature giue it a head, the perfect vse of all senses, a swift and able motion, exquisite variety of colours; and will nature refuse to supply the meaneest and basest parts, feete to support this body? Especially considering that in three extraordinary priuiledges, aboue all other beasts of the field, she may best glory in the indulgency of nature. 1. A great subtilty and wisdom for her owne defense, against all charmes and enchantments. 2. The most dangerous offensive poysonous weapon. 3. Euery yeere a new coate, while other creatures with their wrinkled skins carry their scars to the graue, and neuer haue change of their rayments. Hath nature repented her selfe, and doth she now begin to repine at these blessings? and for the vpshot, leaues it vnfinisht, or dismembers and cuts of the feete? can it consist of foure elements, and yet three of them should carry no proportion, but all the whole body should lie on the earth? Or if the best

The punishment of the Serpent.



The Serpent  
creepes on the  
earth.

be the noblest part, in regard of the residencie of the heart, must it needes sustaine the burthen and poysse of the whole body? and can no other part be assigned for that office?

It is a maine difference betweene the sensitiue, and the vegetatiue creatures, that trees haue their mouthes or their stomach fastened in the earth, but sensitiue creatures, if they haue sight, fit it is, that their watch-tower should be erected aloft, to view and behould their owne wayes, to order their steps, then why is it not thus in the serpent; shall I tell you the reason? It stood with the iustice of God, in the forme, figure, and shape of this serpent, to intimate first the enmity to man; that as man alone aboue all other creatures hath an vpright figure, and lookes vp to heauen: so the serpent alone of all other creatures, lies creeping and groueling on the earth. 2. This serpent hath bin the instrument of Satan, and therefore obserue still the conformity; hell is supposed to be in the heart of the earth, and the serpent lies with her heart to the earth. 3. The state of the earth procured by the serpent; the earth is round, somewhat in the forme of an egg: if it produce euill, assure your selfe that the serpent hath hatched it, & is the sole nurse of the brood. Higher then the earth, to the state of Angels and Saints, the poyson of this serpent cannot ascend, for it lies and incompasseth the earth; the serpent is already cast downe, downe to the earth, heere she is permitted to inhabit, and to bite at the heele, but her principall strength is abated; and at length, as she hath no feete to support her, so she may be easily vanquisht and cast into darknesse, where notwithstanding her gliding and slippery condition, she shall be tied vp in chaines, &c.

From the basenesse of her person, let vs come to the basenesse of her food: is it possible that any creature of  
such



such wisdom and prudence, should search for the most noble things to hurt and annoy them, and yet should make choice of the meanest and basest, for her owne foode and sustenance? This is an excellent embleme of enuie, and worthily describes the malicious accuser of his brethren: but what a league of friendship and amitie hath past betweene the earth and the serpent; how deerely and tenderly doth the serpent loue and embrace the earth, she layes her breast to the earth, feedes on the earth, layes vp the earth in her bowels, inhabits the earth, that so she might binde her selfe to the earth, and the earth might wholly possesse her. And thus it befalls men of the serpentine kinde, or rather seduced by the serpent, their mouth is full of earth, they talke of nothing but lands, goods, purchases, demeanes, possessions, inheritances, leases; of bonds, contracts, bargaines, sales, commodities, marchandises, wares, &c. now the mouth speaketh out of the abundance of the heart, their heart is full of earth and earthly cogitations, their nayles and their hands are full of earth, their hands are gripe and holde fast, and are not so easilie, either opened in charitie, or lifted vp in pietie, and thus is the punishment euery way accomplished.

Here I would desire you to obserue, that as the dumbe creatures, are only (in the nature of instruments) ordained and directed for the vse and seruice of man: so vndoubtedly, it might well stand with the iustice of God to punish them in the nature of instruments. For alas, what is the whole world, or the perfection of all the creatures in respect of Gods glory, and the manifestation of his iustice? neither was this world intended for dumbe beasts, but onely for man; and therefore as their slaughter is ordained for man, so if their punishment might serue for mans admonition, and bee a remembrancer of his sinne, this were sufficient for the exercise

Her feeding on  
the earth.

How the  
dumbe crea-  
tures are pu-  
nished.



ercise of Gods iustice, and to excuse his works of imperfection. The punishment of the serpent, may likewise serue to instruct vs, that as the glory and beautie of the creatures sets forth the absolute happinesse, together with the commendation and praise of their maker: so the basenesse and vilenesse of the creature might betoken his wretched state and condition, who was the first cause and occasion of sinne; assuring vs of Gods iustice, that if he did not spare the dumbe instruments, much lesse would hee pardon the first agents. Now to square and to proportion these one to another, the punishment of the serpent, to the punishment of the euill spirit, I will forbear to doe it at this time, in regard that it exceeds the bounds of our naturall reason; hereafter I may take some fitter occasion to discover it, and in the meane time I leaue it to euery mans priuate meditation.

2  
The enmitie  
betweene Man  
and the Ser-  
pent.

Least man should thinke, that the condition of the serpent did not any way concerne him (as indeede it doth, being that the whole world is onely ordained for man) I will therefore come to the second punishment, which more immediatly concernes him, and may serue for a caution: *Insidiabitur calcaneo*, Gen. 3.15. *I will also put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seede and her seede, he shall breake thine head, and thou shalt bruse his heele.* The principall enmitie consists betweene man and the diuell, who is therefore fitly said to bite at his heele; as chiefly assaulting man in the last clause of his age, in the agonie of death, and principally intending to detaine him from the finall vpshot and conclusion of his happinesse. In permitting this enmitie, did appeare the fruite of Gods iustice, as setting his owne enemies at enmitie among themselves; and likewise the fruite of Gods mercy, that man being thus molested and maligned by Sathan,

and



and the rather for Gods cause, man bearing the image of God, and Sathan Gods profest enimie, being not able to obscure or eclipse Gods glorie, seekes to vndermine and supplant Gods image. Hereby it falls out, that man is now become an associate, of the same league and amitie with God, and therefore God is now tied for mans protection, and may at length without any breach of law or iustice, fight in mans quarrell, against the powers of darkenesse, the gates of hell, the kingdom of sinne, Sathan, and damnation.

As was the conspiracie betweene man and the serpent for the breach of Gods law, so was the combination betweene the flesh and the spirit, both guiltie of high treason; and therefore it stood with the same rule of iustice, to set an enmitie betweene reason and sense, and betweene the reasonable and the sensitiue creatures. First in man himselfe, in the very parts of man, a rebellion of his members, here is an ill example and president for all the rest of the creatures to follow; for behold, the dumbe creatures, who were made onely for mans vse and seruice, cast off their yoake, and are now become dangerous and obnoxious to man, from the greatest to the least. Wee stand not onely in feare of fierce Lions, cruell Tigers, rauening Wolues, deuouring Beares, but Gnats, Flies, and the least wormes doe serue to molest vs: let not the plagues of Ægypt seeme so incredible, when as within our memorie, in the yeere 1580. at Southminster in Essex, the Mice so swarmed and abounded, that their corne was spoyled, their houses annoyed their grasse taynted, and the place made almost inhabitable; vntill God in his mercy sent thither great numbers and multitudes of Owles, which were neuer seene there either before or since, and these deuoured and did eate vp their Mice, and the Mice fayling, they tooke againe their flight, and so the plague ceased.

A generall opposition betweene reason and sense.



ceased. Now it cannot be, that the gouernment of man ouer the creatures should so farre bee impeached, were it not, that there is some conuiencie and toleration from aboue, contrarie to the first institution of nature: neither could equitie tolerate in them so foule an abuse, if man still retayned in them the same right of inheritance, and might pleade his title thereunto without forfeiture, impeachment or waste.

It is not sufficient, that man should be subiect to the danger of creatures in generall, for his life, his limmes, and his substance; but some there are which seeme to mocke and to scoffe man, the Parat for his speech, the Ape for his actions, and others for his gesture. Some though they are impotent and cannot hurt, yet seeme to threaten man; for there are certaine ominous creatures in their owne kinde, which without any spice of superstition or vaine feare, doe prognosticate euill: Others though familiar to man, yet with some extraordinarie and vnnaturall act, seeme to portend euill. Many will condemne me of follie in this kinde, but I am very confident herein: for whereas in nature wee confesse a preuidence in euery the least naturall action, otherwise it would disparage the gouernment of this vniuerse: and Christian religion affirms, that the Sparrowes of the ayre fall downe by Gods appoyntment and ordinance; so sometimes, for a further terrifying and certifying of the sense, as likewise for the assuring and example of others, God vseth outward and more manifest signes and tokens. And as the dumbe creatures are the instruments of Gods iustice, which did well appeare in the plagues of Ægypt: so sometimes they are the Prophets and denouncers of iudgements, as in Balams asse, &c. though it cannot bee denied, but many such accidents doe arise from naturall causes; the Rauens feeding on carcases, no maruell if their sent doe direct

Ominous  
creatures.



direct them, and that a sinell inclining to death doe allure them, and prouoke them to crie.

But I will onely insitt in the Serpent; for the enmitie seemes greatest betweene the most noble and basest creatures, Man and the Serpent, and that for the continuall remembrance of the first tentation. Howsoever I doubt not, but that it better appears in those easterne countries, wherein Paradise was first planted, and wherein the kindes of Serpents doe much differ from ours, yet I will now speake according to our Climate and Meridian. Behold, when in the pleasant moneth of May, thou desirest to take the fresh ayre, and to delight thy senses with the odoriferous breath of sweete flowers; when the beautie of the Lilies, and the pleasant varietie of colours shall allure thy sight, as thou walkest securely by the way side; or when thou dost solace thy selfe in the groue or the shade, and there crownest thy selfe with the garlands of nature; see see a stratagem, a stratagem! treason, treason against thine owne person, the base Serpent, which neuer durst once appeare in thy sight to encounter thee, now begins to trace out thy pathes, and to bite at thy heeles, (a part which thou least suspectedst), where thy hands cannot stoope down to helpe thee, yet therein the strength and poyle of thy whole body consists; if thou touchest or treadest, thou defilest thine owne flesh. And thus is euery man now become *Jacob*, before hee can be *Israel*, first his thigh-bone must be broken, to acknowledge his owne weakness, before he can partake of the blessing.

Wilt thou set vpon this Serpent, and by opposing her, seeke to defend thy selfe? thou shalt finde it a very dangerous and difficult combate; for see the guile and subittie of thine aduersarie, thinkest thou to insnare and intrap her with thy charmes and inchantments, as birds and wilde beasts are taken with seuerall notes  
and

The Serpent  
assaulting  
Man.



Mans incoun-  
ter with the  
Serpent.

and cries? she hath this property, one eare she stops with her taile, the other with the earth: O the deafe Adder, that will not harken to the voice of the charmer, charme he neuer so wisely! Dost thou expect, that this poysonous creature should at length burst with her owne poyson? she is priuiledged, for her poyson serues to offend thee, and not to annoy her, *venenum expuit ut bibat*, in the taking of her food and her sustenance, she first disgorgeth her owne poyson, and then againe resumes it, as being prouided against man. Wilt thou draw out thy sword and hew her in peeces? see how she will stand in her owne defence, *totum corpus in orbem circumuoluit, ut caput occultet*, her whole body must serue as a buckler to protect her head, wherein life doth principally reside; suppose she were cut and dismembred, yet is she no way dis-inabled or impotent, she may well leese part of her length and yet be no creeple. If thou putttest her to flight, *habet viam tortuosam*, she will make such indentures in her passage, that thou knowest not which way to follow; and where soeuer she goes, if she can make the least entrance with her head, she will winde in her whole body, the earth is her castle, the hedges her buiwarkes; take heed of thy selfe in the chase, danger doth euery way appeare, and yet no hope of a booty; if thou hast the conquest, sometimes the sprinkling of her blood will infect thee, but thou shalt neuer receiue any the least price of thy labour.

If time & leisure would serue me, I could proportion these seuerall properties of the serpent, to the qualities of sinne and the deuill, which first made choice of the serpent to be his agent and instrument against man; but I will leaue this to euery mans priuate meditation: as likewise on the contrary, (wherin our comfort consists) that this serpent lurking about the heeles, we shall one day tread on the head. It may well feed vpon impure  
and

The brazon  
Serpent.



and poysoned bloud, but when it shall taste the pure and innocent bloud, which shall issue forth from the seed of the woman: then behold! byting at the frailtie of our flesh, she shall bee insnared with the hooke of the God-head; when both God-head and man-hood shall belinckt together by an inseparable vnion in the person of Christ, who is that brazen serpent prefigured out to the Iewes. A serpent appearing in the true shape and condition of sinfull man, and yet a brazen serpent without sting, without poyson, reserued for continuance and perpetuities; the looking and beholding wherof, being once raised vp in the wildernesse (saith apprehending Christ crucified) shall cure all those, which haue bin stung by the serpent.

Thus you see the great encounter betweene man and the creatures, the strange antipathie and discord betweene both. Now let vs examine how the earth and the elements stand affected to man in this great dissension, and to what party they incline: not to speake of the burning and consuming fire, the boysterous and vnresistable winde or ayre, the roaring & ouer-whelming seas, or the earth, which seemes to be the foundation of the rest, to support this reeling world, yet sometimes is strangely moued & tossed, whole cities are swallowed, great foundations shaken, nothing vntouched; the fruites, the hearbes, and the flowers are tainted, as if hell (~~which consiste in the bosome of the earth~~) sent forth a flash of brimstone to infect this world; I will passe ouer all these great generall iudgements, but (me thinkes) in my passage I am detaynd, incompassed, and apprehended by thornes, that I cannot winde my selfe out of the snare, or the bryars, and therefore in the next place I must speake of the third punishment of mans corruption, *terra pariet tribulos & spinas.*

Gen. 3. 17. & 18. *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow*

The earth  
brings forth  
bryars and  
thornes.

3.



Bryars seeme  
to be wholly  
vnprofitable.

Their pro-  
duction.

*sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the dayes of thy life, thornes also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, &c.* Why should the earth bring forth briars and brambles, vnprofitable thistles, pricking and hurtfull thornes, noysome and vnflauory weedes? are these the fruites of the garden, doe the heauens sowe no better seede, or is this crop worth the reaping? to what vse hath nature ordained them? suppose there were any vse, yet could not nature furnish the earth with better prouision? And this vse (whatsoeuer it be) is wholly vnknowne, and therefore they seeme needlesse and vnprofitable to vs, and certainly would much detract from the diuine wisdom and goodnesse, were it not that they are rooted in that earth, that earth which is accursed for sin, and therefore brings forth bryars and brambles, as tortures and torments for the iust punishment of sinne.

The earth was first created of nothing, and as the earth was nothing in her production, so if God had left the earth to it selfe, it should haue produced nothing; there should haue followed a priuatiue iudgement, but no positie punishment, *pœna damni* but not *sensus*. It should haue bin like the fruitlesse sands, or the barren rockes, as not apt for graine, so not plentiful of weedes or of thistles; nothing should haue bin the fruite of that, which is nothing in it selfe, and was nothing in his first production. But whence I pray, proceed the thistles & thornes, the weedes and the briars? where is that blessing, that euery thing should multiply and increase according to his owne kinde? was this blessing equally imparted to all, or else where is the kinde, where is the seede, that it should thus exceedingly ingender of it selfe? Take the rich meadow, the fruitfull corne-ground, the wood-land, the pasture, the clay, the chalke, or the sand, all serue alike for the briars and thornes, the difference of mould or complection, hinders not their production;



duction. No maruaile, when the woodes meete to chuse them a King, that they easily agree in their choise, for the briar and thorne seeme to haue vanquished the whole earth, and therefore may well claime the gouernment & rule by right of their conquest: But wherefore serues seede to ingender and multiply, if things without seed increase more abundantly? nature should saue her selfe that labour, whereas her longest time, and greatest worke-manship, appears in producing the seed.

Is it not sufficient to produce them in such a plentiful manner, but for their saftie and protection, to indue them with prickes and thornes? in somuch that their very names are deriued from their offensive weapons, as if they stood vpon their guard, and were at open defiance with man, offering violence to his person, laying hould on his garments, as it were apprehending him, and arresting him of high treason, pearcing his flesh, desiring to be bewatered and moystned with mans bloud, as it were torturing him, to wring out some confession; or seasing on man as a prey, intending to fasten the roote, or at least threatening to doe it in the dissolution of his body: or do these thornes serue in defence of the earth? that man should not presume to touch the earth, as being without the compasse of his ancient inheritance, first placed in the garden, he hath no right to the chase or the wildernesse; being first made Lord of the creatures, he should not now descend to be a hedger or ditcher. I cannot perswade my selfe, that these thornes serue only for defense of themselves, seeing their owne basenesse would sufficiently protect them: what theefe did euer set vpon a begger? or who euer hung vp nets in the ayre to catch butter-flies? or how fals it out, that nature hath not sensed alike, the more delicious fruites, the vine, the peach, the pomegranet? but the wilde  
Q boare

Nature seemes  
to be more  
carefull of  
thornes, then  
of the best  
fruits.



boate out of the wood may roote them vp, & the wilde beasts of the field may deuour them. Hath nature taken the charge of the least, and seemes she to be so negligent in the greatest and best? where is the indulgencie and goodnes of nature, especially considering that with so greata ease, she is able to preserue her selfe, making her selfe a hedge to her selfe? but leauing the rest, that is the best of the fruites, and therefore best worthy of the keeping to mans prouidence, Lord! what labour and watchfulnes is required, not only in the planting, but likewise the same labour is continued in the preseruing.

The weeds of  
the earth ar-  
gue the weeds  
of mans mind.

Shall I tell you the reason? As the minde of man is ouergrowne with bryers and brambles, prickt with her thoughts, and stung with a sting of conscience: so the body by a rule of iustice and equalitie, must likewise be outwardly tormented. And as man in the pride of his heart, presumed to eate the forbidden fruit: so on the contrary, that it might appeare, that he had no right to the least fruite of the garden, to the meanest thing in nature, but onely by the diuine permission, therefore the meanest thing in nature shal reuenge that high presumption and violent intrusion of man. But now that I am prickt with the thornes, or bitten with the serpent, me thinkes my wound cancars, alas! alas! I am poysoned, I am poysoned, and therefore no maruaile, if at length I burst forth and lay open my poyson, and speake a little of the nature of poyson. I speake not improperly, for nature hath hatched this poyson, and therefore there is a nature of poyson: I will onely speake of plants and of beasts, and I will not heere dig vp the earth to search for theminerals, I will reserue them for some better occasion.

The Philosophers, who were the best spokes-men in natures defense, doe assigne this reason, that necessary  
it



it was, that of the poyson of the earth, serpents and plants (both poysonous) should be produced; and being once produced, they should likewise feede and consume the remainder of that poyson, that so the hearbes and the plants, the ayre, earth, and the water, might be the more wholesome and sauoury. But heere I will enter the lists with Philosophy; I confesse indeed, that if you will necessarily suppose a poysonous matter, then God hath ordained them for the best, who being all good in himselfe, can change and alter the nature of euill, and turne it to good; but heere is the question, why should nature admit any poysons? for poysons consist in the extremitie of qualities, especially of the first qualities: Can compound bodies, consisting of diuers and contrary elements, proceed to such an excesse in their qualities? when the elements themselves are not poysonous in their owne nature and proper qualities: or suppose, that this might happen in regard of the mixture and concoction, as it were drawing out a quintessence, pressing and including much qualitie in a little quantitie; yet that it should be the end and scope of nature, in effecting whereof, nature should rest contented, as hauing attained her owne end, and not rather a passage or a degree of nature directed to some better purpose, as (for example) rawnes or crudity may wel stand with natures intent, as it is directed to ripenesse and some further concoction; but to giue poysons that consistencie, as if they were essentiall parts belonging to natures perfection, it must needes argue that nature herselfe is poysoned, and iustly punished for mans contempt, in feeding vpon the forbidden fruit, the deliciousnes whereof, is iustly recompensed with a poysonous saue.

But cannot the application of any contrary qualitie mitigate the vehemency of this poyson? is it possible, that it should finde out such a lurking place, where on-



How poysons  
should be ge-  
nerated or pro-  
duced.

lie stars of the same influence and qualitie should finde out the neast, and conceale it as close and secret, while the rest are otherwise busily imployed? that Cancer and Leo should deuide the spoile, while Pisces and Aquarius should not share in the bootie? that the Sun in the heate and drought of the day, should finde no opposition by the Moone in the moysture and couldnesse of the night? The fabulous Poets say as much in effect, that *Mars* committed adultery in the absence of *Saturne*; but how can nature excuse her selfe? especially considering, that the seasons of the yeere mutually succeeding each other, are contrary to each other; why should they not then vndoe that, which others haue done? confesse, confesse, that nature her selfe is poysoned, poysoned with sinne, poysoned with corruption, she offers man a cup of deadly wine, a cup of poyson, *concupiscentiam carnis, concupiscentiam oculorum, & superbiã vitæ*. And thus nature proues euery way to be a fruitfull mother of poyson, and in token heereof, euen in the bodies of some men, of some complections, she hath layed vp poyson for her treasure; for certainly there is a naturall witch-craft, arising from the very constitution, in so much that the touch, the breath, the sight of diuers is infectious. & also y words

All countries  
do not bring  
forth poysons.

That there is no necessity of poysons, consider, that there are great kingdomes in the world, which are exempted and priuiledged from any poysonous hearbe or beast, suppose Ireland; and least you might ascribe it to their bogs or their vermin, which seeme to consume & to swallow vp that seed, which should ingender the poyson, I would gladly aske, why should not nature be as wise and as prouident in other nations, to prevent the like mischiete, though by the same meanes? others not sticking in their bogs, nor eaten vp with their lice, flie to their climate; but doe not other countries adioy-  
ning



ning and bordering, stand in the same climate? I will therefore make a second instance heere in England, the Roodings of Essex (a very handfull of ground) are freed from all poysonous matter, heere are no bogs nor no vermine; or how will you suppose any difference of climate? not any part of this kingdome is generally more annoyed with venemous creatures, then is the country adioyning, being a wood-land, a deepe could clay, and heeretofore the whole country was Forrest. I confesse indeed, that any forged or supposed reason framed and fashioned vpon all occasions, within the minte of mans braine, may serue to excuse his owne ignorance, *mundū tradidit disputationi eorū*. My opinion is, that as poysons do argue the corruption of nature in generall: so nature in particular, is sometimes priuiledged by an especiall warrant and protection vnder Gods owne signer, (though otherwise I doubt not, but it is by naturall meanes, for God doth not exclude nature, but rather include her, as being his owne appointed ordinance, the course, rule and lawe of the creatures). And thus God permitte nature both to shew her integritie, and to boast of her perfection, that although she be corrupted, yet is it onely some accidentall corruption; and being thus corrupted, she seemes to make some recompence with the pleasant change of variety.

That the punishment of nature may further appeare; I would gladly aske, that if there be poyson so horrid, as that in an instant it can sodainly kill: why should there not be a right contrary quality, which might preserue in an instant, and be as beneficiall to nature, as the other is dreadfull and horrid? I haue heard much speech of *Aurū potabile*, but I see it confuted by a whole Colledge of physitions. Now I will begin to tell you a myserie, it seemes as impossible to prescribe a iust time and period of death, as it is to preserue life; the houre of

All poysons do not immediatly worke, but after a certaine time.



mans death being as vncertaine, as is the frayle course of his life. Yet such is the nature and working of poysons, that being taken, they shall not discouer themselves, they shall not bewray their owne treacherie, but as if they were confederate with the nature of our bodies, they shall lie hidden and secret, vntill they may worke their owne ends; *Posuit sibi iniquitas gradus*, as if they were part of our nourishment, part of our bodies, or had entred a league of amitie and friendship with vs, they shall worke at leysure, and by degrees vndermine the foundation of life; so that poysons now taken, after many moneths or many yeeres shall appeare in effect and operation.

The reason  
why poysons  
should so long  
conceale their  
conspiracie.

Because this may seeme strange to diuers, therefore I will lay open the reason; certaine it is, that there are medicines appropriated onely for certaine parts, which notwithstanding their passage and conueyance thorough the trunk of the whole body, yet will stay their operation, vntill they meete with that fit obiekt, whereunto they are directed by nature, and helped by the cunning and skill of the Physitian. This is the ground and foundation of all Physicke; for otherwise all the receis should worke onely and immediatly on the stomacke and liuer, without any further relation to the parts or disease: now as it is in medicines, so is it in poysons, which haue their antipathie to certaine parts of mans bodie; Cantharides to the bladder, the Diamonds to the Lungs, seuerall purgations (which are remissiuely poysons) to the seuerall humors. Now considering that there is a great difference in the parts of mans body, some are more ignoble and base than others, such as we may best spare, and are of the least vse, and therefore may daylie consume, and yet the decay not appeare in the vitall faculties (suppose the lungs or the spleene) and yet the poyson being once harboured in those parts,



parts, shall carrie in it selfe an vnresistable power, and by degrees obtaine the victorie and conquest. Some thing likewise may bee ascribed to the remotenesse of the parts, in regard of the great distance and hard access of the poyson; thus is man subiect to the outward and inward annoyance of the creatures, as was the abuse, so is the punishment. *Of whom shall we expect for redresse, but of thee (O Lord)? thou that wert crowned with a garland of thornes, and fedde with vineger and gaule upon the holy altar of thy crosse; thou that diddest take upon thee the person of whole mankind, take away this cup of our poyson, feede vs with thine owne flesh, refresh vs with thine owne blood, and being made linely members of thy mysticall bodie, let this cup passe from vs, this cuppe of butternesse and sorrow; take away the poyson of our nature, the poyson of sinne, and sow in our hearts the seede of eternitie, that so we may rise againe with bodies immortall, incorruptible. freed as from the poyson of sinne, so from the poyson of the creatures, the one being the vndoubted token and punishment of the other.*

Now let vs come to man, and consider man in himselfe, seeing the creatures doe thus combine against him, let vs see how fitly man is disposed to resist, and to encounter their assaults; let vs see his armour, his weapons, his furniture. What Prince warring against another, doth not first consider his owne strength, and the power of his aduersarie? Behold then, this great champion how he enters into the combate: *Nudus egreditur de utero matris suae, & nudus illuc reuertitur*, Naked he comes out of his mothers wombe, and naked he shall returne againe; Here you see the whole course of his passage, so that his nakednesse is his punishment: Gen. 3. 10. & 11. *Because I was naked, therefore I hid my selfe; and God said, who tolde thee that thou wast naked? &c.* For in the time of his innocencie, though hee

4  
The punishment of nakednesse.



should haue been naked without clothing, yet shame should not haue accompanied his nakednesse; as hee should haue bin without vesture or garment, so there should haue bin no vse either of vesture or garment. He should not haue been subiect to the annoyance of the creatures, for his innocencie should haue protected him; there his nakednesse should haue bin his beauty and perfection; as the child in the wombe, though naked, yet neither feels the scorching heate, or the nipping frost; but liues in a temperat zoane: but the state and condition of those times being now altered and changed, why should not nature make her prouision accordingly? Why should she not worke her owne proper effects, and be as beneficiall to man, as to all other creatures in generall?

Mans clothing should proceed from his food, as well as his nourishment.

For it is naturall to all creatures, that receiuing fit nourishment, part of it should bee turned to the flesh, and part to the fleece; some should renew the decayed spirits, some repaire the bones, some playster the flesh; and for the remainder, it should serue for the outward couering and beauty, as haire, feathers, wooll, &c. Now for mans food, assuredly it is much better then theirs, why should it not euery way be alike beneficiall? shall nature leese that in mans nourishment, which she can so profitably imploy in all other creatures, to adorne the proud peacock, to beautifie the phesant; shall this bee vainely spent or cast away in mans concoction? Not onlie in the sensitiue, but likewise in the vegetatiue creatures, the same foode giues them both nourishment to preserue them, beauty to adorne them, and strength to inable them, and garments to shelter them against any outward violence. The trees, which are of strongest constitution, and longest continuance; yet hath it pleased God to couer them with a stiffe hide, (the barke) which from the roote, still followes the trunk vnto the branches,

Sensitiue creaturz are: all beasts & foules  
Vegetatiue creaturz are: all trees: plants: her



ches, and fruite; the sap and iuyce whereof strengthens and fastens our leather. Thus in all creatures nature desires to ingraft this opinion, that her perfection *est ab intra*, appears in her most hidden workes, and in her secret pavilion; and therefore whatsoever appears to the outward shewe, is but the fruite of her excrements.

Or why should nature be partiall in man, to adorne the head, the browes, and the chin, with a covering of soft haire, and to leaue the rest of the members naked and comfortlesse; as if there were not the like vse and necessity in all? heere we see what she was able to doe in the rest, that thou mightest ascribe this to the indulgencie of nature, and not to the earth, which should decke and adorne all parts alike, and should begin with the lowest: or rather God himselfe hath ordained it, that one part should remaine couered, which man himselfe might vncouer in the honour and seruice of his God; and thereby acknowledge the nakednesse and impotency of the whole. For (doubtlesse) it stood with the bounty and goodnesse of nature, either to make man not wanting any such shelter of excrements, thorough multitudes of hot and vitall spirits, suppose the eyes and the face, which finde little annoyance by any vnseasonable weather; or if mans feeblenesse shal require them, then vpon the same conditions to supply them in man, as well as in all the rest of the creatures.

You will say, that nature hath left him destitute of garments, as hauing prouided for him, a large and sufficient wardrop, euen all the skins of the creatures, &c. It should seeme then, that man is their seruant to weare their cast-away garments; but I pray' hath not man a strength of his owne, though otherwise he can vse the strength of horses to performe his owne labour? It were to be wisht, that for want of others (suppose a case of necessity), man might haue some clothing & garments of

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of his owne, to couer his nakednesse. If the dissolute riot of man were such, that he should make waste of all and sell all to the bare skin; if his improvidence were such, that he would neuer prepare for the cold winter, or old age; yet shal nature seem to neglect man, which clothes the Lilies of the field? In euery well ordered state, besides the priuat possessions of euery man in particular, there should be something in common, whereof it should not lie in the power of the vnthrif to bereaue himselfe; and heereof no man should haue the propriety, but it should bee the Lords waste foyle for the vse of his tenants. Now suppose, that man had any such proper garment, yet hee might exchange it, or adorne it at his pleasure; the head though covered with haire, yet the barbour might trim it, it might be deckt with the cap and the feather, with the hood, the iewels and costly attire; to haue of thine owne, it doth not disparage thy right and title to theirs.

The inward  
and outward  
nakednesse.

According to the diuersitie of mans parts, giue me leaue to make a double nakednesse of man, inward and outward; the soule is naked and emptie, she hath lost all her ornaments of grace, of sanctitie and knowledge, and seemes to be much defectiue in her natural powers: for in the dead embers of mans fall, you shall finde very fewe, and those very obscure sparkes of our reason. All her knowledge is gotten by learning, and hauing once attained knowledge she cannot easily retaine it; as if learning (like a garment) did grow old and did wear out with vse. But obserue a greater difficulty, seldome or neuer shall you finde, that the minde inwardly, and the body outwardly are deckt and garnisht alike; it should seeme, that there is an opposition betweene both, or that God hath concluded by a law of necessitie, that there should be a nakednesse: the more nice, curious and costly the Gallant seemes in his outward habit



bit and garments, the more his minde is neglected with inward good qualities and vertues; for his time and disposition can not suffice him, to intend both alike; and therefore there must bee a nakednesse. Consider againe, that in euery dumbe creature there is some strange instinct of nature, both for defence and preservation of it selfe, as likewise for the vse and seruice of man: whereat the poore sillie Philosopher stands wondering and is astonisht, can say little to the purpose, onely concludes, that it is a certaine notion, imprinted in the fanisie, &c. Then why should nature be so destitute in respect of grace, being onely directed to grace? yet there is an emptinesse or a nakednesse in the vnbelieuing heart of man, to the high mysteries of Gods kingdom; we are blinde, and by the weakenesse of our naturall light, wee cannot discern the sunne-shine of grace. And thus we strue and contend with the powers of darkenesse and ignorance, and thus the life of man is a warfare here vpon earth: *Behold, O Lord God of hosts, fighting thy battailes, wee doe expect thy wages and pay, for no man waget warre at his owne charge: giue vs the brestplate of Faith, the sword of thy Spirit, the helmet of Salvation; that as this warre is a spirituall warre, against the powers of sinne, hell and damnation; so graunt, that the carnall man being naked and destitute of himselfe, may receiue fit Weapons from thy armorie to fight in thy battailes.*

For the outward nakednesse of his bodie, it should seeme that man is dismissed of Gods seruice, hauing now lost his liuerie, his badge, and his cognizance; or naked he is, that thou (O Lord) mightest entertaine him to thy seruice; naked hee is, that hee might wholly distrust in his owne strength, and hauing no shelter of himselfe, he might desire the protection and shadow of thy wings; naked hee is, to shew his condition, that  
what-

The outward  
nakednesse of  
man.



whatsoever he hath, he hath it by begging; and therefore naked he is, to moue thy pity and compassion; hee is a pilgrime heere vpon earth, and hath no permanent city, and therefore naked he is, and must hasten to runne his race, and in another world must expect the change and variety of his garments; for heere naked he is, he is false among theefes, and is robd of his garments, as he descended from Ierusalem to Ierico; naked he is, and therefore cannot conceale the spots of his nature: naked he is, and therefore fit to be washt, fit to be dipt in the lauer of Baptisme; or if he shall offend thee (O Lord), naked he is, and may easily be scourged with the rod of thy vengeance; naked hee is, that being clad with the garments of dead creatures, feeding on the carcases of dead creatures, he might call to minde his owne death, and run a course of mortification and sorrow. For naked he is, and thus nature hath disposed him, and yet he is ashamed of his owne nakednesse, and therefore he must be ashamed of his owne nature, and so consequently accuse the corruption of his nature.

The abuse of  
apparell.

Will you yet heare some further corruption, which appears in our nakednesse? in stead of confessing our crimes, loe! heare our abuse: whereas apparell was only ordained for the necessity of our bodies, and for the decencie of our members, now it serues as an occasion of our wantonnes & pride. Nature her selfe makes a difference betweene creatures of diuers regions and places; but our curiosity is such, that we must borrow from seuerall nations, the variety and forme of their attires. So nature hath fitted euery nation with garments best for their vse: The English cloth is the only good shelter, against the cold Northern blast; and the Camels haire yeelds a better shade in Sowthern regions: but we cannot thus content our selues with natures appointment; and whereas by the orderly course of nature, there



there should appeare some difference of mens conditions in their outward habits, for so the horse appointed for the service of war, is better shaped then the hackney or cart-horse: yet the abuse of man is such, that whereas his clothing should only couer his shame, now it must serue to discover his pride, and bee a token of his brauery and boasting; so that considering the ould world, and their homely attyres, you would suppose in the se dayes, all men to be Princes, were it not, that if there be Princes, then must there be slaues, by a necessity of relation.

Nature hath appointed two seuerall features, differing in quantitie, lineaments, beauty, and proportion to the two seuerall sexes; but strange it is among men, how the one doth incroach vpon the other, much against the leuitical law, which forbad the like garments to both: you shall finde *viros molles & effeminatos*, as likewise woemen *Viragines* like Amazons; men in their pouders, perfumes, false haire and paintings, exceeding the wantonnesse of woemen; and woemen in their habits and vestures seeme to exceede their owne sex, to the strange confusion of nature. Againe the garments should suppose a congruity to the foundation of mans body, but I feare nature is somtimes inforced, (for heere she is pend vp and encaged) to make the body seeme fine and straight; and by and by with loose sailes, wee seeme to make waste in the blessings of nature. I shall not neede to spend much time in speaking of our abuse in this kinde; it hath bin the common complaint of all ages, but especially of ours, which exceeds all former times, and shewes her owne vanity from the costly attire of the head, to the golden rose on the shoe: though we can neither eate nor drinke Gould with *Midas*, yet we can wastfully spend it in wearing, and sometimes our whole treasure appears on the backe; and thus  
man

The wantonnes and pride in apparell.



man out of the poyson of his owne nature, turnes that punishment which God inflicted for mans correction and amendment, to be a further occasion of his sinne. I will onely put him in minde, that of himselfe he is naked, his cloathes are but borrowed, *non eat cernicula risum furtinis nudata coloribus*; will he be proud of the feathers, the filke, or the wooll of dead creatures? can he finde nothing in himselfe better, then these dead reliques wherein he might glory? if his plentie and abundance be such, if his change of rayments be such, then when he sees the naked poore man, let him acknowledge his owne condition, and learne pitie and compassion to others, by the weaknesse and nakednesse of his owne flesh?

<sup>5</sup>  
Euery man is a  
labourer.

From his per son let vs come to his office? which as it should seeme is very fit and agreeable to his nature: for naked he is, and therefore you cannot expect any high dignitie and calling; some plow-man or day-labourer, heere is his profession. That the same iudgements of God might appeare in all his workes, whereas the earth according to his first institution, *should bring forth euery beere that seedeth seed according to her kinde*, Gen. 1.11. but now thorough the course it seemes to be ouergrowne with thornes and with thistles. Gen. 3.18. therefore Gods sentence is likewise past vpon man, *in sudore uultus tui comedes panem tuum*, In the sweat of thy browes thou shalt eat thy bread, Gen. 3.19. Heere it should seeme, that all trades and honest courses of life are erected, for euery man is a labourer, and should intend some course of life: if his hand be not fitted to the plowe, yet he must overlooke his owne seruants, command them their taske, and manage his owne priuate estate. Heere is his carefulnesse, heere is his husbandry and tillage: and assuredly the seruant liues sometimes more at harts-ease then the master, who seemes to bee  
employed



imployed in euery mans labour, and to yeeld strength and vertue to their hands and actions. Thus to be man, it is to enter a seruice, and to binde himselfe prentise to all drudgery; while other creatures liue at harts ease, they neither sowe nor mowe, but keep a continual holy-day; they sit downe to eate and to drinke, and rise vp to play: only man must take care and thought both for them and himselfe; and therin must giue an account of his stewardship.

Not only the body must be clothed and fed, but the minde must likewise bee taught and instructed: and heere we seeme to run through an infinit course of our studies. The Philosopher, though his body rest, though he sits in his study by a candle light, yet his minde is in continuall motion, climbing vp from earth vnto heauen; a strange and violent ascent (I confesse) whereunto he shal not attaine without great labour and difficulty, not without great perill and danger. For his body is dried vp and withered before the approach of his age, as if he had passed through the element of fire; now at length hauing fast hould on the sun, and the heauens; he is carried round about the world with their motion, viewing whole nature, *sed caueat precipitium*, let him take heede least with the violent turning, he bring himselfe to a gidinesse, and leese himselfe in his generall search of the whole world. Thus that profession, which the trades-man and plow-man suppose to be the idle & loytering profession, assuredly it is the most painfull and laborious. The Lawyer, in opening the cause and deciding the right, as it were appointing the iust bounds of euery mans possession, shall finde it a more difficult labour, then doth the husband-man in hedging and ditching his fences. The magistrat in his gouernment is not excluded from toyle; no man can bee freed from the curse, *in sudore vultus*: nature her selfe seemes to teach

Mans continuall labours, both for the maintenance of his body, and for the instructing of his mind.



vs this principle, and to infuse it in the heart of man, for in our idlenesse we are alwaies most imployed, but it is in ill doing, *Nihil agendo male agere discimus*: nature seemes to rouse and inforce vs to action, in so much that all our sports and pastimes are in veritie and truth, labours, howsoever we may repute the for recreations & sports. And therefore our natural rest or sleepe, we must esteeme it a death, we are laide in our winding sheetes, our senses faile vs, *somno sepulti*, wee are covered with darkenesse, here is our death; and after death, beholde our resurrection, wee were sowne in weakenesse, wee shall rise againe in power, the decayed spirits renewed, our bodies strengthened, and then wee returne to our severall callings and professions: and thus our rest tends to our labours, nature is defined to bee the mother of motion, motion is the companion of life, and an inseparable accident to the creatures in generall.

Why should  
not the earth  
bring forth  
corn, as well  
as other fruits?

But I will tie my selfe more strictly to speake of the curse; see then the correspondencie of Gods iudgements to the creatures in generall, but especially to man in particular, for the whole curse must fall vpon man; and therefore God hath appoynted, that the earth should bring forth briers & brambles, that so mā might be tied to vse his own labour for his sustenance and foode; see here the same wisdome and providence of God appeares in both: now I would gladly aske, why should the earth bring forth naturally fruite, fit for the nourishment of beasts, and yet mans body consisting of like flesh, should bee destitute of like foode? Why should not the earth as well bring forth of her selfe, graine, corne, wheate, barlie, rie, without the yearly labour, tillage and husbandry of man; as grasse, Apricocks, Pomegranates, Cherries, which seeme to be as rare in nature, and as difficult in production? how shall



shall man onely intend the glorie of his Maker, and returne due thankfulnesse to his God and Creator for all his blessings, which was the scope and end of his creation, if these base offices, this kitchen-businesse and seruice shall giue him a sufficient taske, and take vp his time with imployments? certainly Gods seruice was the end of mans making, and this after-drugerie proceeds from the corruption of nature, an accessarie punishment accompaning our sinne.

But I pray' let vs examine, why should not the earth bee as beneficiall to man, for his foode, as to the rest of the creatures? at first the earth (without plowshare or harrow) brought forth these graines, suppose Barlie or Wheate; why should not the beneuolence of nature appeare as well in the preservation of them, as in other fruites? You will say, that it proceeds from the excellencie of the graine; this is your error, for at first, there was no greater difficultie in their production, for there was nothing, and therefore there could be no resistance of Gods power, as not in the least, so not in the greatest; as it was in the production, so should it bee in the preservation, the blessing was equally imparted to all, *crescite & multiplicamini*, if more be required, nature as she affords the excellencie, so she should supplie the defects, and in their owne proper places and wombes, you shall finde as easie generation of the sweete Almond, the delicious Date, the wholesome Nutmeg, as you see in our common hedges of Crabs, Slowes, Blackberies and the like; if all places serue not for their plantation, acknowledge natures defect, which is the scope and marke that we shoot at?

That a perfect drugerie might appeare in man, suppose that a poore mans childe were now borne into the world; at first, either with his fathers labour, or at the parish charge, together with the charitie of well disposed

R

sed

No such difficulty in the production.



The progresse  
and degrees of  
mans labour.

sed people, he must bee kept and sustained : now hee is in the forme of a Beadf-man, in his blew coate, and his blew cap, holding vp his innocent hands vnto Heauen, to pull downe a blessing vpon the heads of all his good benefactors and founders : (*O all yee rich men of the world, if euer pittie and compassion could mooue your hearts, looke vpon these sillie poore innocent babes; who neuer offended either God or man, but onely in the sinne of their conception: heere your charitie bestowed, shall bee without exception, for they cannot counterfeite; they are young beginners, giue them a stocke, and like seede sowne vpon good ground, it shall againe retorne vnto you with full measure and thankfulnessse*) when at length hee comes to the age of ten yeeres, then hee beginnes his taske, hee must worke to purchase his owne foode, to buy his rayments, to get his strength, his growth, and his nourishment; for nature onely supplies life, she laies onely the foundation, and this life must bee continued and prolonged by such meanes, which he himselfe hath bought with his own labours : now no man can worke without tooles, (the plough, the mattocke, the spade), and these tooles must first bee prouided with his owne labours; hauing both strength and tooles, there must be a skill and cunning to worke, and this skill is gotten by experience, learning, and his owne labours; now he is sufficiently prepared of himselfe, but where will hee worke? either hee must first purchase his timber, his stufte or his ground, or else he must drudge for another, to worke in his vineyard, as if he were to create a new world for himselfe, before he could take the possession of this world.

Let vs (with compassion) descend to the lowest degree and state of men; that a man might be a drudge, not onely to other men of the same kinde, in the nature of a seruant; that he might haue worke to imploy himselfe,



selfe, that with his owne honest labours hee might get his owne liuing; but (I say) that he might bee a drudge to the dumbe creatures, that he might be admitted to keepe another mans horses, to feede his dogges, to attend his sheepe, to waite on his swine, here is his suite, here is a great poynt of his happinesse: it should seeme hee wants letters of recommendation for such a high preferment. It were to be wished, that the rich men of this world, would imploy some part of their wastefull expence, in setting poore labourers on worke; that they would take some pleasure to trie conclusions in nature, and that our lawes, which provide in this case, were better executed, as they were in former times, and as at this day is practised in other nations.

But suppose him to be thus set on worke, yet he cannot secure himselfe of his owne health, and of the vse of his limmes and his members (though I acknowledge that by Gods prouidence, his labour may serue as an excellent meanes to preserue health, which indeede sweetens his labour, and makes his condition equall to the rich men of this world; for I had rather imploy my limmes and my ioynts in an outward worke, then inwardly to suffer the conuulsion of mine owne bowels; I had rather sweate outwardly, then that a violent vn-naturall heate should distemper my bedie) all his daies gettings shall onely serue him from hand vnto mouth; if sicknesse attach him, he shall feeble his owne wants; if wife and children proue troublesome, he shall be inforced to craue almes and bencuolence; if fire or water doe trespassse him, then hee must haue a collection; and in his olde age, when his worke beginnes to faile him, then meanes must be wrought, that he may be put in an hospitall: euery thing runnes in a circle, he began with the spittle, and hee must end in an hospitall, where hee shall finde the vncharitable disposition of this world to

Man is a drudge  
to the dumbe  
creatures.

His pouerty,  
notwithstan-  
ding his drud-  
gery.



exceed the cold distemper of his weake and crasie body; *hui quàm miserum est nasci!* if I were in such case as I conceave the yong child, and could foresee the whole course of mine owne miseries, it should be a principall point in my prayers, that God hauing once shewne me this world, hee would in his mercy lead me from the wombe to the graue, and take me to his owne protection, before my life were tainted with sorrow, or my vnderstanding corrupted with the wickednesse of this world.

Mens continu-  
all labours  
in husbandry  
and tillage.

Leauing the persons of men, I will consider their labours, and setting aside all other trades and professions, I will only choose the most ordinary calling of men, which indeed is the best and the most necessary, I will instance in husbandry & tillage; the sower goeth forth to his labour, some fals vpon rockes, some vpon sands, some vpon thornes, the least part fals on the good ground, heere is the losse of his seede, the losse of his labour: now this good ground, it was first made good, it was mealowed and mended, and had many tilths; heere is a continuall taske for man and for beast, they run in a circle, according to the seasons of the yeare, they haue their times for their different labours, in sowing, and mowing, in keeping and reaping the seed and the weed, the least drought in the sowing, the least moysture in the reaping, any vnseasonable weather spoyles their whole haruest; euery second or third yeere the ground must lie fallow, and heere is nothing but barrenesse, nature seemes wholly vnprofitable; alas how shall the poore tennant discharge his rent? for heere is only hope and expectation of a future crop, which the good husband some two yeeres hence, may take as the fruites of his labour, and in the interim may bequeath it to the vnborne, and vnbegotten child for a legacy. But suppose him now at length, to haue the quiet and peaceable



peaceable possession of his owne crop, a fift part of his corne shall be spent againe in his seed, an other part shall be spent to hearten the poore beasts in their trauell, very little will remaine for the household prouision, or the market commoditie; and being thus safely lodged, yet he shall not bee excused of his labour, the thresher, the miller, the baker, all of them very painefull and laborious trades will testifie as much.

I know not, how far I may presume vpon mans patience, but truely I am very fearefull in speaking of those things, which might any way concerne our thankfulness to God; and therefore giue me heere leaue to make some recompence, least mans labour might seeme to detract from Gods goodnes and prouidence, the one serues as a iust punishment of sinne, the other as an earnest of Gods mercy and our redemption. It is the goodnesse of God, that first gaue man his seed, and teacheth him to know the times and the seasons, inables him to worke, giues him the grace to follow his calling, preserues nature in her own kinde, and concurr's with the second causes in their effects and operations. It is the prouidence of God, that the seed being once dissolued should send downe a roote, should send vp a blade, that it should be moystned with the first and the latter raine, that by degrees according to the sunnes heat, it should gather strength; that the morning dew should preserue it from withering, that the white snow like a warme fleece should keep it from freeing, while with the hard frost the ground should be meadowed, the wormes killed, and the weeds nipt and consumed. It is the mercy of God, that the seed comming forth should returne againe (with great thankfulness and vsury) straw and chaffe for the vse of beasts, and corne for the food of man; this corne to be inclosed in an eare, fortified with pikes, least the foules of the ayre should seaze vpon it,

Gods mercy  
and prouidence  
appeares in our  
labours.



laid vp in a huske, least the winde should scatter it, or the water should rot it; and that within the compasse of one moneth, all the whole yeeres provision might bee brought into the barne; and whatsoever remains in the field should first serue, as gleanings for the poore, the feed the foules of the ayre and the beasts of the field, nothing is lost, the very stubble shall serue to enrich the ground; and as the fruites of the earth do fatten the beasts, so the dung of beasts doth fatten the earth. Thus euery way you see the providence of God, which providence is most especially directed to man, and therefore acknowledge, that mans labour and drudgerie is the fruit of his sinne, the fruit of his fall, and not to be numbered among the fruits of the garden. God that feedes the rauens from heauen, who openeth his hands and filleth euery living thing with his bleffings, as he made man without man, preserues mans life without his priuie, so (with the same ease) he might haue fed him as one of his sonnes, or one of his household seruants and familie; were it not, that man with his own sinne hath made himselfe a stranger, and an alien to his God and Creator.

All honest callings appointed by God.

As I haue noted out the curse, so giue me leave for our instruction to point at our abuse; the punishment was the labour of man, now man in stead of patience in bearing this yoake, and obedience in vndertaking the taske, and conforming himselfe to Gods lawe, desires nothing so much as to frustrate the sentence of God, and to auoid the punishment; especially in these last dayes, which is the ould age of the world, we intend nothing more then our idlenesse and sloth, sometimes vnder the faire shew of sanctity. Whereas certaine it is, that all honest callings and vocations of men they are Gods owne ordinance, in performing them we doe God seruice, *be or at qui bene laborat*, the workes haue the



the forme of a prayer, as implicitly desiring God to concurre with his own meanes; they are likewise in the nature of sacrifices, as being actions well pleasing and commanded by God himselfe: thinke them not base, do not neglect them with any foolish fantasie & conceit of thine own puritie, for God hath appointed them, and he shall one day take the accounts of thy labour in this kinde. But the generall practise of this world, is to giue ouer all painefull, manuell, and laborious professions, and to desire to liue by their wits; as if the state of man were wholly angelicall, and that his hunger could bee satisfied with knowledge, his thirst quenched with sweet meditation, and his backe clothed with good precepts: or as if every part should ambitiously aspire to the perfection of an eye; for schollers are infinite, Lawyers innumerable, Cities swarme and abound with multitudes, and euery company complains of companie; but tillage, husbandry, and manuell labour, was neuer more neglected. We doe not desire to gaine from nature, so to benefit our selues and to enrich the whole kingdome: but we desire (with the finencesse and quiddities of our owne wits) to gaine from others; new offices must be erected, and we must breed vp our children as Clarke in some office: and hence it is, that our wants were neuer so great, the trickes and shifts of many were neuer so shamefull and dishonest, for they that know best to liue riotously in a wastfull course of expence, knowe least, what belongs to the labour and difficulty in getting; if nature were as prodigall in her gifts, as is their mindes lavish and profuse, I should commend their magnificence; but it fals out far otherwise, &c.

To leaue the professions of men, I will only taxe one of their actions; a practise which is now growne common and vsuall, and hath bin hatched in these dayes al-

Men must liue  
by their la-  
bours and not  
by their wits.



The great  
hurt and the  
shamefull a-  
buse of inclo-  
sures.

together vnknowne, or els vitterly detested and abhorred, by the former and better times of our forefathers, namely the inclosing of common fields, when the land lecfeth his owne proper and naturall vse, God hauing ordained it for tillage, wee must conuert it to pasture: whereas corne is such a soueraigne and pretious commodity, being indeed the ground-worke of a kingdome, whereupon all our plenty consists; in so much that other wise and politicke states, (as the Florentines) will suffer no corne to be at any time transported; shall kingdomes bereaue themselves of their weapons and sell them to strangers? heere is the staffe of life, the staffe of bread, Leuit. 26. 26. Heere is our best weapon, shall we leaue our selues destitute of this weapon, only thorough our owne sloth? wherefore serue the inclosures, but only to the inhauncing of the Lords rent, and for the idlenesse of the tenant? whereas certaine it is, that better it were in a state, for men to bee wholly vnprofitable imployed, then for want of imployment they should be left to their owne disposing; wherein you shall finde not only the losse of their time, but other vitious and dissolute courses, as drinking, gaming, riot, quarelling, and sometimes seditious tumults. Most certaine it is, that the kingdome is heerby greatly impoverished; for those lands inclosed are not able to maintaine such numbers of men, so many horses fit for the seruice of war, such prouision for our plenty, in a fourefold proportion, as formerlie they did, lying open and in tillage. Where is the ancient strength of England, how easily may we be vanquishd? if in the best soyle, townes shall be thus vnpeopled: why doth our lawe so much intend tillage? why doth our law preuent inmates and cottages? if on the other side, notwithstanding the increase and multiplying of people, yet villages shall be ruined, and all must serue for the shepherd;



heard; infinit are the inconueniences which I could speake of inclosures, but I will conclude all with this one rule in lawe, *interest reipublica, ut ne quis re sua male utatur.*

Many and great are the iudgements of God, which from time to time haue followed the first authors and first beginners of inclosures; but you shall giue me leaue to prophesie a iudgement. That I may speake for this climat of England, giue me leaue to compare this great kingdome to a body: as in the midst of a body the heart is only the fountaine of all vitall bloud, which it sends forth and conuayes in her conduit-pipes, to all the seuerall parts of the body; so me thinkes, God hath ordained this kingdome, that in the midst of it there should bee the heart, the richest and fattest soyle, which might send forth plenty of corne to all the bordering skirts, which as they haue the benefit of waters for the carriage of their commodities, so are they not in themselves such fruitfull corne grounds; yet if any part of the world be sufficiently provided with graine, for the most part our sea-coast townes do share in their plenty; whereas our in-land countries must only relie vpon their owne prouision, and to that end, God hath giuen them a soyle fit for that purpose. Now seeing that they haue such inclosures, and that they haue wholly betaken themselves to their idlenesse and sloth, assuredly whensoever it shall please God to send amongst vs, a punishment of hunger and famine, there the dearth and penury shall be greatest, from whence heerebefore wee haue receiued our greatest supply. Thus man desiring to escape the punishment of God in his labour, incurr's a far greater iudgement of God in his famine; if hee will not sweat in his worke, hee shall starue in his wants. *Giue vs grace O Lord, strengthen and inable vs, that we may labour according to thine ordinance, and in thy mercie*

A prophesie  
against our inclosures.



¶ (O Lord) give a blessing to our labours, that we may receive from thee the fruites of our labour, and keepe vs (O Lord) from that heauy punishment of hunger and famine.

6

The disagree-  
ing betweene  
man and wife.

Because the earth brought forth of herselfe Bryars and brambles, therefore was man tied to his husbandry and labour: heere is the course of his life and profession, now let vs come to his honor and dignitie, which appeares in his gouernment, hauing lost his absolute rule over the creatures, and they no longer tied to his seruice, but assaulting and despitefully vsing their master and gouernor; behould, God laughes at the counsels of men, instead of governing the dumbe beasts, the rule and tyranny of man must appeare vpon the same kinde, Gen. 3. 16. *Sub viro prestaberis, & vir dominabitur tui*; Thou shalt be vnder the power of thy husband, and he shall beare rule ouer thee: It stood with the iustice of God, that the woman first enticing and abusing her husband, should now incurr a thraldome, and be made a captiue to the will of her great Lord and master, (her husband). I know not whether I should call this iust decree of God, either a curse or a blessing; sure I am, that God did neuer sow any seedes of dissention betweene those, whom hee himselfe hath coupled together, and made one flesh; rather I conceiue, that God supposing mans corruption, doth heere prescribe a remedie and meanes to reconcile this married couple; appointing a dictator for the time being, making choice of him, that should beare an absolute rule; but alas what needes a gouernment and rule, if their hearts were vnited and made one, as their flesh is coupled and made one? giue me therefore leaue to reckon this, as a speciall punishment of mans fall, (the iarring and dissenting in marriage).

To shewe the large extent of this punishment, heere



I conceive, that all those things, which by natures first erection and institution were linckt and coupled together, doe now admit a separation through their owne enmitie, that therein might appeare the iustice of God, combining themselves together against him, now they fall at variance among themselves: for thus it is the property of all evils and of all finnes, that they doe not only oppose themselves against vertues; but likewise maligne each other, like ravenous creatures, which prey as well vpon their owne kinde, as vpon others; yea they do admit the greatest contrariety betweene themselves, for the extreames are more opposite to each other, then to the meane. Now supposing the enmitie, God in his wisdom and goodnes prescribes a subiection, that the iustice of government might preserve that, which otherwise would fall to confusion: first it appeares in the parts of man, the soule and the body, in regard the sinne was a carnall sinne, and that man was thereunto allured by his senses, & erat pomum visu suauis, & gustu delectabile, therefore is the flesh rightly and lawfully subiected to the spirit; though heerein especially, as in all other governments, you shall not faile to finde opposition; and in the flesh it selfe, the same flesh, only cut in two parts, wil disagree with it selfe, & therefore there must be some government appointed, for the wife must submit her selfe to her husband.

How would ye expect, that brethren-like branches of one tree, should be bound vp together, when man and wife are separated, and the stockes cannot agree? that kindred should be together fastned in loue, when the roote is diuided? or generally how should we expect, that in whole mankind there should be a firme league of amity, when the first parents do thus nourish and harbour enmitie betweene themselves? *paruus error in initio, erit maximus in fine*, he that shall goe a-stray in the

The large extent of this punishment.

The branches cannot couple if the root be diuided.



Man is some-  
times subiect  
to the tyrannie  
& oppression  
of others.

the beginning, shall greatly wander, and with much difficulty arrive to the end of his journey. From this enmity between man and man, when as all things were distracted, when wisdom was separated from power, and strength was severed from charity, considering that disorder is more perillous then bondage, and confusion more detested then slavery: that order might keepe all things within their owne bounds, there did appeare a necessity of gouernment, and gouernment inforceth a subiection and thraldome; thus the punishment is not onely to be tyed to the sex, (for it is a rule in law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, if our mothers be in bondage, we appearing in their wombes, must likewise acknowledge our iust imprisonment). But it doth generally comprehend whole mankind, that in regard *homo homini lupus*, one man is a wolfe to another, the strongest oppressing the weakest, some imposing a slavery vpon others, and there is a generation of men which feed vpon nothing but mans flesh; therefore (with one ioynt and common consent) we must submit our selues to a gouernment; which gouernment, if it containe it selfe within his own iust limits and boundes, it is the greatest and most so- ueraigne blessing, which can happen to man heere in this life. But for mans sinne, he must likewise be subiect to the tyrannie of others: seeking protection hee falls into the den of a Lyon, into the hands of a tyrant, who delights in cruelty, and hath his rewards appointed for all such as shall inuent new torments, with roaring Bulls, fierce Tygers, deuouring Beares, and whatsoeuer else either fire or sword can execute; and yet we must patiently endure this tyrannie, rather then admit a disorder and confusion: howsoeuer in particular, those lawes which tend to bondage and captiuitie, shall haue all possible fauourable construction, yet when as the necessity of gouernment, and the well-fare of man shal inforce



inforce a subiection, needes we must bring all men vnder some yoake, and inforce an obedience; for the dissolute riot of one is rather to be admitted, then the disorder of many; the cruelty of one must be suffered, rather then all should be bloody; when in regard of mans corruption, we cannot auoyd all inconuenience, then reason will admit and tolerat the least.

Heere appeares the necessity, together with the first originall of gouernment, when as betweene man and wife there must be a superiour, a magistrate, a gouernour; heere appeares the excellency, the sacred and inuiolable maiesty of gouernment, and that especially of a Monarchy: notwithstanding that Princes bee of the same kinde, subsisting of the same flesh and bloud with others, yet ought their power to be respected, though sometimes for gifts and good qualities, they may be inferiour to others; for thus between man & wife, though she be made of the ribs, and euery way equall as touching her condition, but for her beauty and comlinesse far excelling man, yet in gouernment she is inferiour and subiect to man. Subiection must keepe vs from slavery, thinke not thy life base or a thraldome, when as marriage (which certainly is a very honorable estate) must admit a subiection: and as the wife doth first willingly vndertake that state, and vndergoe the yoake of her husband, (their being such a permission or rather injunction from God), it lies not in her power afterward to make the breach of her wedlocke; so certainly subiects at first, either inforced by conquest, or voluntarily of themselves submitting themselves to their Princes, and now it lies not in their power to revolt, for who should take knowledge of causes depending between a Prince and his subiects? And heere obserue the degrees and proceedings of gouernment, the foundations whereof were laid in marriage, but anone after it brake forth

Princes haue  
their authority  
from God.



The degrees  
of govern-  
ment.

forth to paternitie, which containes in it selfe the greatest and most vndoubted right of nature, bringing children into the world, he might safely conduct them; taking charge of their infancy, he might direct them in their age: this gouernment was defectiue through loue, parents did only vse soft weapons, compassionat perswasions, little able to suppress sinne. Not long after issued forth primo-genitura, as being accompanied with the greatest number of yeares for discretion; so claiming the greatest part of inheritance, and the highest honor for gouernment, in memory heereof still wee retaine these words, elders, seniors for gouernours, *Senatus* the counsell table; and the Italian hath his *Signior* and *Signiori*. Then as families increased, so cities were builded, countries adioyned, and at length we came to Kingdomes and Empires; that God might shew vs some token of his own and only gouernment, when an entire nation shall vnite and ioine it selfe together, that being men of the same kinde, they might be members of the same body, going hand in hand by euen paces, whereby they might receiue the fruits of obedience, the blessings of peace, sustaining all burthens and grieuan- ces alike, and ready to fight in defence of each other.

How strange  
it is that there  
should be en-  
mity in mar-  
riage.

But to returne to the punishment it selfe, which primarily and especially appeareth in marriage; is it not sufficient that all the creatures should conspire against man, & the earth it selfe should discouer her own hate, and seeme to nourish this enmity, but euen flesh of our owne flesh, two Persons in one body, man and wife should be seuered in their loue and affections? for you shall observe factions and distaste in marriage, not betweene strangers, not betweene neighbours, not betweene seruants, not betweene brethren, but in the married couple, liuing vnder the same roose, fed at the same table, resting in the same bed, that sleeping and waking



waking they might be a helpe to each other, hauing first made the free and voluntary choyce of themselues, their possessions alike imparted to both, their bodies made one, the weaker vessel layd vp in the bosome, and yet their minds are distracted, they cannot be ioyned in affections.

Of all other passions, loue as it is the first and most naturall, so is it the strongest and most violent; me thinkes all little and slight offences, should be hindred and ouerwhelmed with the streame & current of loue; me thinkes the mutuall kinde offices and helpes receiued from each other, should not long harbour the disfection: what should I speake of the sweet comfort of yong children and babes, the fruitfulness in their owne kinde? which indeed is the highest perfection of nature, and to a christian man, the mysteriall vnion and excellency of marriage; eleuated from a naturall contract to the height of a mystery, solemnized in the Church, made a religious action, God and his officers knitting both their hands and their hearts, signifying the strong and indiuisible bonds between Christ and his Church, the God-head and man-hood in the person of Christ, the soule and the body in the nature of man, the matter and forme in the creatures; and thus the whole world consisteth of marriage and the vnitng of couples.

Do any other creatures of the same kinde, differing only in sex, stand in such enmity to each other? especially such creatures, in whom nature seemes to obserue the lawes of marriage, and makes them presidents and examples for vs, as doues, and the like; is man alone so quarellous that he falls out with his owne flesh, not the flesh with the spirit, for heere were some disparitie; but the flesh with the flesh, *ipse ante se positus contrariatur sibi*, is this his entertainment to her, that was first ordained for his helpe? like a mad man who strikes and buffets

The motives  
to preſerue  
loue.

How vnaturall  
is this en-  
mity in mar-  
riage.



buffets his keepers; but cannot all the motives and allurements of nature serue to appease him, she is the weaker vessell, and therefore forbear all violence and wrong, she deserues rather pity and compassion; thou wert once borne of a woman to her great sorrow and greife, learne now to commiserat and to vse them respectiuely: She is the mother of thy children, make her no seruant; in dishonouring her, thou dost disparage thy selfe and thy issue; thou didst first make suite to her with many protestations of thy loue and kind vsage; since thou hast made a couenant before God and his holy congregation, that forsaking all others, thou shouldest cleaue only vnto her, giuing her a bodily worship, and endowing her with al thy worldly goods, so that God and the congregation are both engaged in this cause, they shall witnesse against thee, take heed least thou make a breach of thy promise.

The allure-  
ment of beau-  
ty should al-  
swage man.

Hard harted man, cannot all the prouocations of nature, and the necessary duties of marriage soften thy stony heart? cannot her beauty allure thee, the tender flesh, smooth skin, cleare visage, faire complection, flaxen haire, soft voyce, quick eye, smiling countenance? *munda* *dis omnia munda*, I need not bee ashamed to speake of this subiect, (for God hath sanctified marriage, and therein hath taken away the vncleannes of lust, and the filth of sinne) behould the mirror of nature, the most beautifullest creature vnder the degree of Angels; whereas thou art vnshewen, harsh, and ill fauoured, all hayrie like the beasts of the Forrest; in thy health she is the only ornament of thy house, to giue thy friends the best entertainment, to furnish, adorne, and beautifie thy table, like a fruitfull and pleasant vine, together with her oliue branches, that neither wine nor oyle might be wanting to thy promised land; and in thy absence she layes vp thy store, and keeps it in safe custody, prepares thy food,



food, washes thy linnen, and makes thy house sweet and neat against thy returne; in thy sicknes she makes thy bed, she mournes and laments together, shewes her compassion, seekes for all possible helpes of physicke, to giue thee some ease; thus being abroad, thou art at home; being sicke thou art in perfect health, by vertue of this happy vnion.

Hitherto I haue counseld the husband, now giue me leaue to informe the wife in her duty, for both may bee faultie; hath God made her the weaker vessel? then she wants the protection of her husband; is she more impotent and weake of counsell? then ought she to be instructed and taught by her husband; hath she committed her owne person to his custody and charge? then certainly the disposing of her estate, the managing of her busines of right belongs vnto him. The wife receiues her honor from her husband, let her honor the stocke, and she shall be found more honorable; she receiues her plenty and meanes of liuing from him, for he is lyable for the payment of her debts, then certainly shee ought to follow his example, for the course of her charge and expense: but nature hath made the woman gentle, flexible, and compassionat, I shall not need long to instruct her; only I feare, when I see strife and differences betweene the married couple, least there were neuer any perfect vnion; sometimes (indeed) their wealth is heapt vp together, their substance vnited, when matrimony becomes only a matter of money; and heere they seeme to be in the nature of partners or factors, ioyning only their stockes or their treasures: sometimes againe in the blindnes and sudden assault of their lust, when their bodies are happily vnited, yet their mindes are separated and distracted, there is no agreement in their disposition; and this seemes rather a linking together of dead carcases or beasts, then an honorable

S estate

The wife is informed in her duty.



In the house  
there are seue-  
rall duties be-  
longing to the  
husband & to  
the wife.

estate of marriage, elevated to the hight of a myserie in our christian religion.

There is nothing which breeds that distast in marriage, (setting only iealousie aside) as when either of them do intermedle with the proper duties belonging to each other, either to the distrust of the honesty, or to the great disparagement of the wit and iudgement of each other; both which must vtterly be abandoned and auoyded in marriage. For man and wife liue in an excellent society, they haue all things in common, as wee should haue had in the state of our innocency; and therefore no maruaile though marriage were first instituted in paradise: and yet notwithstanding this community, the offices of the house ought to bee diuided between both, and neither of them should intermedle with the others affaires (to the preiudice of either). Which if we should admit, we should not haue a perfect vnion according to order, but the one should be swallowed vp, and both be confounded: as the parts of a mans natural body, they haue their peculiar offices and duties, notwithstanding they are parts of one man; and as in the law there were diuers and distinct garments belonging to both, and a sinne it was for a man to put on the womans attire; whereby is signified the seuerall offices of both, that there being a necessity of each other, receiving mutuall helps from each other, it might serue as a surer bond of their loue. Thus in nature, the man hath strength of limbes for his labour, the woman hath weaknes, yet cleanliness; wherby is signified the seuerall duties of both, whereunto nature hath disposed them, which ought to be reserued whole and entire to themselves: thou (that art a husband) make thy selfe no Hermaphrodite, to busie thy selfe and to pricke into euery action; dost thou distrust the honest and iust dealing of thine owne wife, then blame thy selfe for thine owne choice?



choice? remember that thou hast made a solemne act before God, and the congregation, (which now thou canst not reuoke, or recall), wherein thou hast endowed her with all thy worldly goods.

For iealousie, which so much disquiets and sets such a difference betweene the married couple, I haue full often obserued, that the loosenes of the husbands life, giues him occasion to suspect his innocent wife, as being guilty to himselfe, and feareing least by the course of iustice, his owne sinne should bee recompensed with his owne shame in the same kinde; supposing his owne vncleannes to bee a naturall in-undation, which hath ouerwhelmed whole mankind: others though chaste, thorough the impotency and weaknes of their owne bodies, yet their minde is impure, and therefore they feare that in others, which they do not finde in themselves. Now for their punishment, it flood with the iust iudgements of God, that according to their adultery and fornication conceiued in their owne minde, so they should perplex and torment themselves with their owne thoughts. There is yet a third sort of men, who out of the immoderat loue of their owne wives, doting vpon their beauty, being totally carnall, *uixoriffimi*, neither regarding the brightnes and glory of the heauens, nor yet the shame & reproch of this world, they begin to be fond and iealous of their wives; the excesse of their loue, turnes vnto iealousie; their greatest comfort, proues their deepest discontentment: and thus God laughes at the counsels of men, who being the only true Good, in whom and to whom all our loue and affections should be tending and ending; we diuerting the streame of our loue, forsaking this onely one good, as we are distracted in the truth of our loue, so sometimes wee are distracted in the soundnes of our owne mindes, and teese our selues in our owne loue, when

The fond iealousie of the husband.



the fruits of our loue, proue the fits of our frensie; but O blessed Lord God, who art the ioy and loue of our hearts, leaue vs not to our selues; for heere we offer vp our selues vnto thee, take vs away from our selues into thy most holy protection; let thy loue bee with our whole heart, and without measure, as thou thy selfe art good without measure; and let the loue of the creature, be guided by rule and proportion still to thy loue, &c.

The abuse of marriage may breed an ill disposition.

If this ielousie be conceiued vpon iust grounds, yet stil I cannot excuse the husband, for certain it is (whereof we haue examples in Scripture), that there may bee a foule abuse in marriage; notwithstanding the holinesse and sanctitie of that high and excellent state, yet there may be vncleannesse; adulterous thoughts and actions may passe betweene the married couple, and it is already concluded among the casuists, that *plures mariti abutuntur, & magis abutuntur statu suo, quam cœlibes suo*, I feare least the wantonnes of marriage, may breed an ill disposition; if thy wife be somewhat light and of euill report, then I feare she hath bin brought vp in thy schoole, she hath learned it of thee, thou hast taught her this lesson. I would not willingly defile my speech with this subiect, only giue me leaue to taxe an ill custome of this world, that in the seeking of our wiues, we vse such speeches, such gestures, such actions, such ribaldrie letters, &c. that it is to bee feared, least yong woemen do heereby first learne to be harlots, before they are wiues; and therefore no maruaile, if in the course of their liues, they giue some cause of ielousie, for heere the husbands haue giuen a bad example, and laid an ill foundation, &c.

Thus assuredly the greatest cause of complaint is in the husband, who hath the gouernment of his wife, who might in wisdome preuent his owne shame, and should teach her a modest and chaste carriage; but I knowe



know not what ill spirit hath set them at enmity, whom God hath coupled together : sometimes indeed the streame of the husbands loue, being carried another way, is apt to cast any aspersions vpon his wifes honesty; and then he begins to practise with hereticks, and to commend the law of liberty, that after a diuorſe it should be lawfull to marry againe, and againe. Heere you shall see large expositions written in defence thereof, and the opinions of certaine Diuines, Ministers, Pastors, Superintendents of separated congregations, or the new Churches from beyond the seas, (thus they would seeme to haue a Catholicke consent) together with such bitter inuectiues against all superstitious fasts, calling all chastisements of the flesh, sins against the body. Here are their wholesome and sound doctrines, their manifold and good vses, their learned and excellent applications: thus because God was incarnat, appearing in the basenesse & frailtie of our flesh, though free from the sinfulness and pollution, of our nature, therefore do these men desire to make religion not incarnat, that is, fitted to mans capacity and apprehension; but a religion carnall, professing a sanctitie of spirit, in the vncleannes of the flesh, admitting the loosenesse and sensualitie of Turkisme, into the strict and austere profession of christianitie, and here is pure, impure carnalitie. But O thou monster of men, how many wiles wilt thou abuse in thy lust? changing thine owne flesh, as if thou wert to change thine owne garments? notwithstanding the heate and fury of thy lust, yet God may so dispose it, that a cold and chaste blood, which thou supposhest to be frozen vp with some Northern blast, yet this blood may succeed thee, and possesse thy seat and habitation, when thy memory shall be cleane forgotten, thy name accursed, and thy seed rooted out in the next generation.

A bitter in-  
uective against  
marriage after  
diuorſe.



7

Man is accursed of God.

But of all the plagues that euer befell man, I will now come to the greatest, a punishment not inflicted on the creatures, not consisting in the labour or service of man, but primarilie incident to the very person of man, setting a breach not between the married couple, but betweene God and man, *maledictus homo*, Gen. 4. vers. 11. Man is accursed, he is made a runnagate and fugitiue from the face of God and man, *habitabit in Nod*, Gen. 4. 16. fearefullnesse shall be his habitation, and he shall least appeare in sight: here I might speake whatsoever hath been spoken concerning the miserable and sinfull condition of man, for this is the abridgement and epitomie of all; to forsake God, is to leaue the fountaine of all good, and to make himselfe subiect to all miseries and woe. And therefore the righteous *David* cries vnto God, *for sake me not in thine anger*, for whereas the absence or separation of friends, might be a meanes to assuage their hate, and to reconcile their enmitie: onely in God, the greatest fruite of his anger is to leaue and forsake man, and thereby man is wholly destitute of all possible meanes, to re-obtaine his fauour.

The limitation of this curse.

Here now at length I see the reason why, all other creatures receiued their approbation from God in the beginning, immediatly vpon their creation, *Et vidit Deus & erant omnia valde bona*, and God saw all things that were, and they were very good in their owne kinde; and God blessed them, &c. onely man is excluded, and neuer receiued any such approbation, for it lay in the power of his free will and election to make himselfe accursed and miserable, and therefore the sentence of his approbation was deferred vnto a day of iudgement to come, *venite benedicti, ite maledicti, &c.* The rest of the creatures they may be punished and accursed indeede, but it is onely for mans sake, as they are ordained.



ordained for mans vse, while man himselfe is the end of the curse; for nothing can be accursed, but that which is simply euill, and nothing is simply euill, but only sin; and no creature in nature is capable of sinne, but only man, so that man of all other creatures is the most accursed; only with this difference, *Cain* was accursed but not *Adam*: *Adam* being the root of mankind, did therefore represent the nature, *Cain* being a branch of mankind, did limit the curse to a certaine condition of men, to the state of the reprobates. So that a curse is incident to the nature, though not to the whole nature of man, which shall appeare by this one instance; *Balaam* was not able to curse the children of Israel, seeing that hee was then in their loynes, who was indeed the fountaine of blessing, this blessing we must not only tie to the generation of Christ according to the flesh, but still wee may claime the enlarging of Gods mercy, according to the promise made vnto *Abraham*, in *semine tuo benedicentur omnes generationes*: so that generally God hath proposed vnto man a blessing, a curse, life or death, the one as the fruit of mans sinne, the other as the effect of Gods mercy; the one he incurr's by his own transgressions, the other hee attaines by his blood and passion, who was the attonement and propitiation for our sins.

*Cain* bearing the person of all reprobates, and being accursed for the blood of the innocent *Abel*, you might heere expect, that I should describe the nature and first causes of reprobation, together with the heauy fruits of Gods vengeance; how God of himselfe may li- mit and bound his own mercy, to refuse, or assist him, who is now ready to fall: and yet like a gracious God, remembering himselfe, together with the scope and end of our creation, desiring to perfect and accomplish that image, which hee himselfe hath already begun, as hee hath giuen the outward meanes for mans happy con- uersion,

The causes of  
reprobation.



uersion, *ite, predicate, baptizate, omnes singulos, uniuersos*: As the price of our redemption is infinit, able to satisfie for the infinit sins, of infinit worlds: so vndoubtedly the same God according to the truth of his owne nature, will not be wanting in the inward meanes. He will not feede vs with shewes, and appearance of things that are not, but with his preuenting, assisting, and subsequent graces, hee will inable our weaknesse in such things, as do necessarily concerne our saluation; raising nature to such an height, that she may be able to transcend her owne naturall power; yet God shall so moue vs, as may bee most agreeable to our condition. The kingdome of grace doth not ouerthrow our naturall rights, and therefore God shal still leaue vnto vs, whole, sound, and entire, without violence or coaction, the free choice, and election of our owne wils: so that if in his eternall præsience he shall fore-see, that man shall refuse to be the vessell and instrument of grace, to concur with him in the action; but shall prefer the creature before the creator, and so shall continue wilfull and disobedient in the whole course of his life, with a finall impenitency; heere is the sole cause and first motiue of Gods eternall reprobation, which consists of the foresight of our sinnes, and of the due intended punishment of Gods iustice.

The guiltines  
of crying sins.

The second curse which I will obserue in *Cain*, is the guiltinesse of crying sins; for he slew his brother *Abell*, whose blood cryed vp to heauen for vengeance; strange it is, that man by nature should not be able to eleuat and lift himselfe aboue nature, to do any worke or action belonging to grace, not so much as to beleue any principle of faith, which to a beleiuing man seemes to be a point of small difficulty; and yet man should easily descend beneath nature, to commit sins, whereunto his nature is no way inclined; such as the light of reason,

*dictamen*



*dictamen rationis*, common honesty, equity, and conscience vtterly condemnes: wee receiue not this learning from the Preacher, but nature her selfe hath imprinted and ingrafted it in the hart of man; these actions we abhor and detest of our selues, and yet these actions we daily practise our selues; and therfore having once committed them, we proue our owne tormentors: for as nature takes cognizance of the sinne, so it leaues it not unpunished, *omnis qui inuenerit me, occidet me*, Gen. 4. vers. 14. Heere is our feare, and notwithstanding, that we proue runnagates, that we shelter and hide our own lookes, yet we carry a worme in our bosomes, that accuseth vs, and layeth these sinnes to our charge, disquiets the thoughts, and will not permit the soules rest; and hauing thus committed, and being thus tormented, whereas reason should teach them, that the only way to recompence for the sinne, were to be sorrowfull and contrite, to aske pardon and forgiuenes, euen for his sake who died for our sins; yet they will rather continue in their own filth, and sin against the holy Ghost with a finall impenitency, and say with that cursed *Cain, maior est delictum meum quam ut possit remitti*, my sinne is greater then it can be forgiuen. And thus wheras before they sinned against the rule of Gods iustice, now they begin to sin against the measure of his mercy; to dispaire of his mercy, as if his mercy were not infinit, as well as their sinnes are infinit: as if the price of our redemption were not sufficient to recompence for their sinnes; though they haue lost all possible meanes, whereby they might be saued, yet God hath not lost that absolute power, wherewith he might saue a penitent sinner.

This curse of man is so generall, that whatsoeuer is or can bee spoken for the misery, and punishment of man, may well be included within the compasse of this curse,



Mans curse appears in his reason and in his religion.

The strange different iudgements of men.

curse, petty Princes may well boast in the number and multiplicity of their dignities and stiles, whereas the great Roman Emperour could content himselfe with the bare title of *Cesar Augustus*. Sometimes a plenty breedes want; and diuersitie of matter, (when men seeme to be distracted with multitudes of thoughts), imposeth a silence: many dishes, and much variety of good cheere, rather chokes then prouokes the appetite; I must therefore limit my speech, and setting aside all other fruits of this curse, I will only insist in those two qualities, which are proper and peculiar to man; his reason, which sets him above creatures; his religion, which makes him equall to Angels: the one guiding nature, the other sanctifying nature, mans excellency consisting in both; and if in both mans frailtie and corruption shall appeare, then needes you must acknowledge the curse, and such a curse as cannot descend to the dumbe creatures, nor cannot ascend to the Angelicall state, and therefore must needes be proper and peculiar to man.

For reason, God hath giuen it man for these two vses, first for discourse, that men grounded vpon the same principles of reason, should concur in iudgement, and discern better, see more, and search further, then (for the instant) appeares to the outward sight; & therefore it is a shadow of Gods eternall prouidence and prescience, wherwith God creating man, made him according to his owne Image: but now see the curse, that hath befallen our reason, *quot homines tot sententia*, so many men, so many mindes; as if reason were not the same in all, but that there were different and distinct rules, and grounds of our reason. As there are five senses, according to the five seuerall objects in our sensible nature: so our reason (forsooth) must be infinitely multiplied, according to the number of mens braines, and the



the capacity of each vnderstanding ; our reason serues rather to discouer the diuersitie of our opinions and iudgements, then to inforce an vnitie of consent; whereas all the rest of the creatures they haue senses alike, they see alike, feele alike, taste alike; and for their outward actions, they are all carried with one and the same instinct of nature, only in men their wayes are infinit, their iudgements infinit ; in so much that you might well doubt, whether they all consist of the same reasonable soule; and for the dumbe creatures, if you wil take their whole kinde, together with their naturall actions, they are much more reasonable, more wise and provident in their owne kinde, then is man, notwithstanding his reasonable soule.

You will suppose, that I speake only of the promiscuous multitude, and of such only, whose wit will serue them to stir vp a difference or doubt, but whose iudgement is too weake to reconcile the controuersie: or you will thinke that I speake only of neighbours and women, alwayes iarring and dissenting out of their enuie; or of friends and kindred alwayes in suites of law in a point of their profit : No verily, but I will instance in the thrice renowned profession of learning; how many sects of Philosophers, haue the schooles afforded, what infinit variety & contrariety of opinions? as among the ancients; according to the number of elements, there were Aristotelians; who out of their puritie, their light, and eminency aboue the rest, did seeme to resemble fier, which hath now at length consumed the rest: then followed the Platonists, who (like the element of ayre) inclose all their light in the clouds, or rather indeed do obscure and conceale it : then comes the Stoicke, who with the stricktneffe of his life, seemes like a sea-faring man, lies vpon boards, and feeds vpon water and fish: at length vp starts the Epicure, who, (like a glutton) runs  
ouer

The different  
sects of Phi-  
losophers.



*Petrus Ramus*  
censured.

ouer the face of the whole earth, from market to market, to make his best provision, to offer vp a fat sacrifice vpon the all-deuouring altar of his belly-god. Heere are the foure first elements, and from hence proceeds as great a difference in the opinions of men, as there is variety in nature; in so much that in the ancient monasteries, what iars haue past between the Scotists and Thomists; between the Reals and Nominals, &c. And at this time it is not vnknowne, how *Petrus Ramus*, a man of meane knowledge, without any ordinary parts either of nature or learning; yet through his owne impudency and pride, (desiring an innouation of all Arts, to cast all things in a new mould, to build his own fame in the ruins of others), hath opposed himself, not against any particular opinion, but against the whole streame and current of all ancient learning; ouerthrowing the grounds, principles, and rules of that most illustrious & thrice renowned *Aristotle*, whom all ages doe reuerence and acknowledge to haue bin natures chiefe secretary, or best counsellor of estate, the father of all humane knowledge: and that which is yet more strange, this *Ramus* hath left followers and Disciples behind him, who seeme to be like affected to the ancient learning, reducing all things, (euen the very scope & foundation of arts), to their own fond inuention, and barbarous innouation. A shame it is, that Colledges and ancient foundations, should giue harbour to such a wretched brood; who as they are first nourished vp in obstinacy and wilfulness, so they will proue to bee firebrands in the Church; who neglecting the fathers, and all ancient orders and decency, shall with their owne furious and witles conceits, set the whole world in combustion.

The second vse of reason is, according to the nature of the reasonable soule (which is spiritual), to raise man from

quasi  
Apiggs  
let  
best de  
finer of  
things



from the visible creatures, to the invisible Deity: & here I cannot but bewaile the great curse which hath be-falne man; for some there are, who in their studies of naturall Philosophy, haue had strange flashes of infidelity, considering in the Meteors the causes of earthquakes, thunders, lightnings, whirl-winds, tempests and the like, together with the symptomes, signes, and fore-runners, they begin to doubt of Gods prouidence, whether these things befall vs as iudgements, or as naturall effects; and how powerfull our prayers are, for the hindering or hastning of such euents; as if the second causes could subsist without their first mouers, that parents could ingender without the concurrence of the Sunne; *Deus in sole te illuminat, in igne te calefacit*, thou takest the free vse of Gods creatures, but it is the power of God in the creatures, and by the creatures that feeds thee; the naturall causes doe not exclude Gods action, but rather include it, who hath so ordained nature, to worke his owne purpose: the prognosticall and vndoubted signes doe argue a far greater prouidence of God, who before the creation of the world, could so dispose of nature, as that in his due time, hee might worke his owne ends; thou seest these signes, and behouldest his iudgements a far of; if thou shouldest pray, thou wouldest thinke it a vaine thing, and heere is thy error; though God workes by nature, and hath in some sort tied himselfe, not to make any new creature, yet God hath not so bound himselfe to worke only by nature, but that sometimes he will interpose his own extraordinary power, which is a prerogatiue inseparable from the deity, otherwise there should be a far greater certainty, in the whole course of naturall and iudiciall Astrology. But suppose, that man knew Gods full resolution and determinat will, yet are not the prayers of the faithfull vneffectuall; for we are to pray for the fulfilling

Second causes  
do not detract  
from the first  
agent.



filling of that will, *fiat voluntas tua*; and the reason is giuen by the diuines, *ut nos possimus capere quod ille parat dare*, that wee may not be found most vnworthy of those blessings, which hee himselfe intends freely to bestow: if with my prayers I could not preuent his iudgements, yet my prayers would alter the nature of those iudgements, from iudgements to be fatherly corrections and chastisements; and would likewise inable vs with patience and humility to beare our burthen, to stay his leisure, and to expect our happie deliuerance.

There is a great difference between the birth of things, & their continuance.

Others, considering the little change and alteration of this world, doubt of Gods prouidence and his act of creation; whether this world had any beginning: but how vnfit are they to iudge of the creation, according to the present condition of things in the same state, wherein they now stand? for all their knowledge is borrowed from the course of nature, and not from the birth of nature; as if they should consider the riuer *Nilus*, the streame, the bankes, the ebbing, the flowing, yet in regard of the large circuit, passing thorough many Prouinces and nations, they should neuer be able to search out the spring or the fountaine: but doth not reason informe them, that there must be a different condition between the beginning of things and their continuance, their preservation, nourishment, and growth? Man is not now daily fed, as hee was at first in the wombe, there is not the like vse of the nauill, which at this time scemes to be almost needles and vnprofitable, and serues only to fasten the liuer and bowels; there is a great difference between the hatching of eggs, and the keeping of chickens; least man should presume to iudge of the creation, by the preservation of nature, therefore hath God taught in euery the least creature, a great disparity between both.

Surely to a right iudgement, Gods prouidence and actions



actions doe more manifestly appeare by the little and small alteration in nature; for I would gladly aske, if a clocke or instrument of iron were made, which should daily want mending, would ye commend the work-man? but suppose this clocke should continue for many yeeres perfect and sound, without reparation, then certainly the work-man should haue his due praise & commendation: so is it in the frame of this world, which hath now continued for many thousand yeeres without alteration and change; and therefore therein Gods providence, power, and protection, doth more eminently appeare, then if God should daily creat new formes of creatures, and should alter and change the present condition, and state of this world, which he himselfe in his great wisdome hath already contriued, supporting and preserving it by the same power, wherewith he created it. For otherwise creatures should bee dissolued, the earth should haue no stable foundation, amidst the ayre and the waters; the whole world should reele and tumble in the wast desarts of an infinit *vacuum*: and as nature was made of nothing, so it should haue a power to returne againe to the same nothing, as being the first matrix or proper place, whereunto of it selfe, being left to it selfe, it is naturally inclined: for it is a worke of as great difficulty, and of as high excellency to preserve, as at first to create, *non minor est virtus quam querere, parta tueri*, to establish and continue the gouernment, is a worke of no lesse glory, then at first to obtaine the conquest.

But alas, woe is me that euer I was borne, I could heartily wish, that my tongue did cleane to the rooofe of my mouth, so that I had not iust occasion to make my complaint in this sort; for now I will speake of a curse, which hath befallen man in the point of his religion, a curse of al other curses the greatest; that religion, which

is

Gods power  
doth wonder-  
fully appeare  
in the conti-  
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Mans greatest  
curse in the  
point of his  
religion.



Mans greatest  
curse in the  
point of his re-  
ligion.

is the sole comfort and solace of man, which erects our hopes, and in the midst of misery gives vs true ioy of heart, and peace of conscience ; religion I say, which proclaimes a new heaven and a new earth, consisting only of happines ; where Princes shall be without subjects, and the greatness of the one, shall not enforce a necessity or relation in the other ; where all shall be great, and all shall be called the sonnes of the highest : Religion, religion (I say), through the diuersity of sects of schismes, and of heresies, proceeding from the malignitie and curse of mans nature, and from that first father of enmity, *qui super seminavit zizania*, who will not feare to approach euen to the highest pinnacles of the temple ; that religion (I say) should now at length disquiet mens thoughts, molest their mindes, and almost distract them ; in so much that they know not which way to take, but stand very doubtfull euen in the necessary points of their saluation ; Christ is become a stumbling block, the truth of religion (by the corruption of our nature) giuing occasion to the falshood of religion, as in ancient times the sacrifice of beasts among the Iewes, was an occasion of the idolatrous worshipping of beasts among the Gentiles. Alas, how many are perplexed with the variety, and diuersity of sects, not knowing how to resolue themselves ? whereas in truth and verity, there can be no greater certainty or infallibility, then in the immoueable foundations and grounds of religion ; if we shall detract from the waue-  
ring vncertainty of our own fancies, and relie vpon the diuine testimonies ; the exposition and true meaning whereof, by the daily practise of the Church, consent of Fathers, verdict of counsailes, hath continually, visibly and successiue-ly from Christ and his Apostles descended to vs. O happy, happy, thrise happy are the beasts of the field, that are exempted from all these differ-  
ces,



ces! I will from henceforth betake my selfe to the woods, and the groues, and when I heare the chirping birds sing, in stead of the communion of Saints, I will ioyne with them in their quier, they shall sing their notes, and I will frame this dittie, *to the father to the son and to the holy Ghost, three persons in Trinity, one God in unity, be honor and glory now and for ever.*

This difference in religion, I suppose to be shadowed forth in the different and distinct sacrifices of *Abell* and *Caine*, the one receiued, the other refused; & hence proceeds the enmitie between both, as betweene the seed of the woman, and the seed of the serpent: the truch of religion, the more it is pleasing to God, the more it is vnpleasing to man; in so much that no cruelty, torments, or persecutions shall bee omitted in the cause of religion. *Abel* the first that died or was slaine, suffered martyrdomie for religion, because his gift was acceptable to God; he himselfe was more acceptable then his gift, the one being accepted for the others sake, and therefore he himselfe was to be offred vp in sacrifice, to be the figure and type of him, who was the propitiatorie sacrifice for our sinnes; whose blood speakes better things then the blood of *Abel*, who as he was the head of the Church, so opened he the way as to heauen, so to tribulation and persecution, thorough which he ascended vp to heauen; and if we looke to climbe thither, we must passe the same way, there must bee some conformity between the head and the members; and thus God in his goodnes and secret wisdom permits, that his vine-yard which his owne right hand hath planted, and is bewatred with his owne blood, yet the wild-boare out of the wood doth root it vp, and the wild beasts of the field do deuoure it.

Here you haue scene religion died in her own blood; but now I will tell you a greater mischiese, religion not

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persecuted

The persecu-  
tion of true  
Religion.

8



The cloakes  
and pretences  
of Religion.

persecuted, which makes for her honor; but maskt, disguised and counterfeited, which discouers her shame. For many there are, who colour all their sins and impieties vnder the faire cloke of religion; thus not only our soules and our consciences, our faith, our hope, our saluation; but our liues, our bodies, our freedome, our goods, and whatsoeuer els may concerne vs, all are subject to ship-wracke vnder this religious tempest. What murthers, thefts, treasons, treacheries, gun-powder plots, massacres, haue past among men for commendable actions, vnder the vaile of religion? what breaking of leagues among Princes, what dispensing with othes, what alteration of gouernments, and last of all, what infidelitie hath past between men, vnder the colour of faith? *Cesar, Tacitus, Macchiavel*, they were but babes and fooles in policy; for they neuer learned this lesson, how to lay the foundations of policie, and to build vp the tower of iniquity with Church-stones. To ground all factions in religion, this is a monster newly hatched in our dayes, in this last and worst age of the world; as if the kingdome of grace did cleane ouer-throwe all naturall rights; as if heauen could not subsist with the earth; as if the Morall law, were together abrogated with the Ceremoniall: *But O blessed Lord God, keepe thy sheepe, keepe thy shepheards, keepe them as the aple of thine owne eye; let Cain be accursed, let him answer for his brother Abels bloud, let him be a runnagate, and neuer dare to approach neere thy vine-yard; protect (O Lord) the tribe of Iuda, and let not any violent, bloody, and trayterous hand, touch thine annoynted.*

My intention here is only to speake of the curse, the vndoubted token of mans fall and corruption; but I cannot stay my self, needs I must craue pardon, hauing opened the wound, if I apply the salue, while it is fresh and Greene, I may with great ease keepe it from festering;  
heere



heere I will giue thee some little tast of that, which hereafter I may discouer more largely. For if it shall please God, that together with our most happy forefathers (the great *Magi*), I shall once safely arrive at Bethelhem, where I may but heare the child *Iesus* crie in the manger; I will neuer leaue or forsake him, but instead of the star, which first conducted me to the place of his birth, I wil then follow him as my ruler, my guid, and protector: I will attend him in his flight vnto *Egypt*, thorough places of darknesse and ignorance; and in the middest of persecution, from thence I will returne againe vnto Galile; where I will wait vpon him, and set him before mine eyes to order my wayes, and my footsteps: and if in any solemne feast, or great assembly I shal leese him, then presently I will make inquisition, I will goe backe againe to Ierusalem, where I wil make search for him in the temple; and there vndoubtedly I shall finde him, sitting in the middest of the Doctors, *in medio Doctorum*, hauing his casting voyce, and directing the Catholicke concent of many; let me not therefore here preuent this happy occasion.

Only in a word, the controuersies of religion assuredly they are such, that if a man be of the least vnderstanding (setting the feare of God before his own eyes, and that he hath no turbulent spirit, but intends charity, piety, and deuotion), they doe not any way frighten or molest him; for necessary it is, that there should bee scandals, and woe bee to him by whom there are scandals. Let it suffice, that the faith of the Church of England, which heere we professe, was not framed yesterday, to serue the present turne and occasion, by new vpstart and heathenish innouators; when as Clearkes did seeme very learnedly to dispute, yet a secret close policy did ouer-rule the conclusion; but such a faith as all the Fathers imbraced, all the counsels approved, all

The Author  
makes a small  
digression.

The contro-  
uersies of Re-  
ligion.



the learned Diuines confirmed, in the Greeke Church, in the Latin Church; which all the Martyrs haue sealed with their bloud, al the Confessors witnessed with their torments; a faith confirmed by so many miracles, taught by the Apostles, first opened and reuealed by Christ, *qui erat splendor patris*, who was a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel. This faith was prefigured in the law, with sacrifices and types fore-told by the Prophets, and shadowed forth in nature by the vndoubted promises of God, *semen mulieris conteret serpentis caput*: so that my faith and religion, wherby I looke to be saued, was the faith and religion of *Adam*, which I can deriue by a lineall descent from age vnto age, shewing the expresse foot-steps, and where the Church hath alwayes resided; like a hungry dog thirsting after my saluation. I can follow the sent and pursue the chase, from the first day of the worlds birth, (for together with the creation of man, was the end of mans creation, and the meanes to obtaine this end, Truth is most ancient, as being of the nature of God, and God himselfe is the ancient of dayes; and in all our doubts of religion, wee must still flie to the first institution, *an sic fuit ab initio*), vnto this present day, being the 28. of February, in the yeere of our Lord God 1615, *dies dierum*, the beginning of our *septuagesima*, wherein wee remember the first fall of *Adam*, and the birth of a sinner.

There are seeming contro-  
uersies which  
may be recon-  
ciled.

For the controuersies in generall, some there are which cannot bee reconciled; and for these wee will mourne and lament, and daily beseech God for their happy conuersion: but I feare that a great part of the diffention proceeds from our selues, who being now settled in a peaceable Church, without persecution, the truth of religion sufficiently appearing without any great opposition of Turkes, of Iewes, or of Heathen, hauing



having now gotten respite and ease, we do not so much intend the actions of zeale and deuotion, as the point of our learning, and the sufficiency of our knowledge; which notwithstanding is not so proper and peculiar to Priest-hood, as is the practise of Pietie, wherein consists the height and perfection of a christian life; some (I say) rather intending their studies then their prayers, desiring to show the strength of their learning, they must enter the combat of wits, and heere they must seeme to dissent and to be irreconcilable; while closely and vnder-hand, they send forth their agents, and messengers to treat of a peace; and with a nice and quaint distinction, can take vp the difference among themselves, without shedding one drop of blood; while the world takes notice of their disagreement, and being not able to iudge of their words of art, and the trickes of their wit, still conceaues them to be at deadly enmitie. I know not what to say of their learning, but I doe much condemne their dishonesty, to make shew of difference, when indeed there is none; and the schoole learning it selfe, which makes all things disputable, howsoeuer I do highly commend it, for wisdom, learning and iudgement, yet I feare it hath not proved so profitable and beneficiall to the Church; as having stird vp those iars, which it could neuer assuage, like the action of the moone in our bodies in respect of ill humors; for man is easily prouokt, but not so easily reconciled; out of the frowardnes of our mindes, disputations doe rather conceale, then open a truth; but it were to bee wished rather, that the vulgar should neuer be acquainted with the controuersies, then that thou shouldst thinke to make them such perfect and good clearkes, as that they might truly iudge of the differences: of them and of our selues I may truly say with the wise man, *Deus fecit hominem simplicem, ipse se immiscuit*



Gods providence and goodnesse appears in these controuersies of religion.

*innumerabilibus questionibus.*

In these differences of religion, I do acknowledge a wonderfull and vnspeakable providence of God, for some of them seeme to make more for Gods glory, and for mans saluation; if they proceed without any great breach of christian charity, the difference not consisting in any fundamentall, and essentiall point of religion, but such as may well stand with the text of Scripture, the three Creeds, all ancient counsell, and the continuall practise and tenent of the Church; so that herein we shall not need to feare any shipwracke of faith, wee shall not need to endanger our goods, our limbes, or our liues, but rather to leaue them as disputable at schooles: but now see the profit which redounds to the Church by these differences; they teach man his owne weaknesse, and how imperfect he is, in things of highest perfection; they haue raised vp many excellent wits, profound learning, and wonderfull industry in all manner of knowledge; they haue made all more cautionat and wary in their own wayes, least the aduersary should take any lust occasion of reproch: not only our catholik reformed Churches, but euen the present Abbies and Monasteries, now extant in other nations, haue bin much reformed, since the dissolution of ours; they haue laid open the maine strength, the rocke, the foundation, the pillars of our Christian religion: so that men neuer had the like meanes, for the increase and strengthening of their faith, as they haue at this day; the factions of each partie doe kindle the heat of their zeale in their own profession, and of their charity one towards another; as the intollerable hate of one common foe, will knit together a firme league of amity, which otherwise of it selfe would easily dissolve.

And therefore I will conclude, that the Church at this present, in regard of the many differences, may fitly be shadowed



shadowed forth in *Saint Peters* calling, and in *S. Peters* reprehension; *Saint Peter* who was called from fishing, to be a fisher of men, let his net resemble the Church, the conuersion and taking of soules: vpon the calling of *Saint Peter* his net brake, but as the Diuines doe obserue, it was to let in fish, and not to let out fish, and so the euent proued accordingly: make I beseech you the application; sometimes a schisme in the Church opens a wider gap to salvation; that others may enter in, who before durst neuer approach for feare of the Cherubin, which keepes the gate of Paradise with a fiery sword, (that is) with fire, and with sword: Secondly, *Peters* reprehension was, that when many came to apprehend Christ, all of them were not his enemies, some came to behold him, some to heare him, some to compassionat him, while others betrayed and apprehended him; yet *Saint Peter*, I will not iudge of his intention, in the heat of his zeale drawes out his sword, which he could not lawfully do, and strikes off the eare of *Malchus*: the eare is the instrument of hearing, and be-tokens the sole meanes of mans conuersion; but Christ heales vp the wound, restores his eare, rebukes *Peter* and threatens him; hee that drawes out the sword shall perish by the sword, he that abuseth the sword, and often prouokes the secular power, shall at length smart by the sword, &c.

For the persecutions of the Church, it is no maruaile though God doth permit them, seeing that Christian religion inioyning man penance for his sinne, seemes to bee a kinde of persecution: such fastings, such weeping, such mortification, such a strict and austere life, that tyrannie it selfe could hardly impose a greater torment, were it not, that Gods holy and sanctifying spirit seemes to abate the sorrow; besides the promises of God, and the conformity of this building, for the founda-

*Saint Peters*  
calling and re-  
prehension.

Persecutions  
of the Church.



Pretenses of  
religion how  
they should  
instruct vs.

The generall  
deluge.

dations of the Church were laid in the blood of Christ; and therefore necessary it is, that in the rearing vp of the walles and the roofe, the mortar should likewise bee tempered with the blood of his Saints, and they appearing in their own blood, as it were clothed with scarlet, should at length sit vpon thrones, iudging and condemning the world of impiety.

For the cloakes and pretenses of religion, what should I say, the best things are soonest abused, and this argues our corruption; if thou findest desperat attempts covered with a religious habit? then acknowledge in thy selfe how powerfull religion should bee, for guiding and directing thee in the whole course of thy life, when a counterfeite shew of religion, shall moue others to vndertake such dangerous and horrible cruelties, not without the losse of their limbes, substance, life, the viter vndoing of poore widowes and orphants; the exposing of themselves to all manner of tortures, fearefull to the behoulders, and therefore much more terrible to the offenders and malefactors, who suffer for their euill doing, &c. Whatsoever els may concerne religion, I shall hereafter speake of it more largely to your further satisfaction.

As man was corrupted, and all the creatures forsaking their first and naturall vse, did serue for mans punishment, and rebelled against him; so it stood with the vniformitie of Gods iudgements, that nothing should remaine vntouched, no not the elements themselves, being the first principles, seeds & foundations of nature, for as man was totally defaced, and had lost the image of God, so this world though comming far short of that most excellent state of Paradise, yet being Gods owne immediat work-man-ship, and so still continuing, God at length in his wilddome for our sins, thought fit to deface it; and behold the rule of his iustice, when

as



as the children of God were mixt with the children of men, God sends a deluge of waters to confound them together. Death is the punishment of sin, that we might heerein acknowledge Gods owne handy worke, the iudgement fell from aboue, their graues were fashioned in the clouds, and the elements did for a time change their situation, and these were likewise confounded together: and as in the creation the waters did flow vpon the face of the earth; so now againe the whole world did seeme to goe backward, and to returne to the first nothing. Hence began a great alteration in nature, and all things were changed to the worst; the earth did decay in plenty and goodnes of fruits, for immediatly after the deluge, God did enlarge *Noahs* commission, and gaue him free power to feed on the flesh of the creatures; the water likewise lost her naturall proper tie of goodnesse, and therefore *Noah* immediatly began to plant a vine-yard; the ayre was more subiect to vapours, foggy mists, and darke clouds; the fire with hot fumes and exhalations ascending and turning to meteors, was made more imperfect and impure; the heauens themselues haue not freely escaped, though these sublunary contagions could not infect the stars, yet were they able much to hinder the goodnes of their actions and operations, as likewise to eclipse and obscure their beauty; some of them neuer appearing vnto vs, as are those stars *in via lactea*; others seeme twinkling, *stillant*, through the thicknesse, opacity, and gloominesse of our ayre, not gining passage to their beames; and all of them appeare short in beauty, lesse in quantitie then indeed they are, and assuredly are much hindred in their operations.

So that this generall deluge was indeed the generall confusion of nature; and as it was the death of nature, so nature her selfe could neither hinder nor hasten her  
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Losses sustai-  
ned by the de-  
luge.



The naturall  
meanes were  
not sufficient  
to caule a de-  
luge.

owne death; and being once fallen, she could not raise her selfe by her own naturall power, for howsoever the God of nature might well vse naturall meanes (the watery constellations) for the effecting of his good will and purpose; yet surely these in themselves were not sufficient, vnlesse you will thereunto adde Gods infinite power, and his absolute authority; for certaine it is, that there was the like coniunction of stars, within our memory, in the yeeres 1524. and 1588. If we should suppose that God did herein vse naturall meanes, they might be numberlesse, as the power of God is infinite, and his wisdom vnsearchable; yet such as reason & the schoole of Philosophy do most approue, are these: First, that before the deluge the earth was more leuell, and framed according to a better rule of a Globe or a Center, and therefore the water might with more ease cover the whole earth 15. cubits deepe; this being supposed, there might follow a transmutation and change of elements among themselves, where the earth might bee turned into water, and carrie according to the rule of Philosophy, *decuplam proportionem*, that euery ounce of earth might bee turned into ten ounces of water; the water likewise might bee summoned to appeare out of the deepe, to change her situation, to possesse the face of the earth, according to her naturall course; the whole element of water might bee rarified, that it might take vp a larger compasse, and still retayning her nature might serue for our punishment; the bordering region of the ayre, might be condensed and thickned, that it might serue in stead of choking waters, and these might be raised and puffed vp with hot fumes, proceeding from the bowels of the earth, which might make the boyling or scalding seas to swell aboue measure. Thus infinite are the wayes and meanes, which God might vse in this deluge; I will here impose my selfe silence, rather trembling



bling at his iudgements, then presuming to search into the depth of his counsailes.

I do much more wonder at the staying of this deluge, how the flood should cease, considering the nature of water is to flow vpon the face of the earth; for vs to conceaue that the sea is a sinke or a bottom, & that the waters are lower then the earth, it is much against reason, which denies the water and earth to make one perfect globe; much against common experience, when in the highest parts of their ships they see furthest, and first discover the shoare; though I confesse, that the inequality of the earth, is a speciall meanes to reduce all waters to one proper place, yet I suppose, that the wonders of God do manifestly appeare in euery element. First, in the earth subsisting in a centre, like an immouable stocke, carrying the same distance to euery part of the circumference; then the waters, notwithstanding their roaring, their continuall and strange motion, wherein they seeme to threaten the earth, yet are kept within their owne bounds, not compassed with a wall of iron or brasce, but with a border of lands, a weake bulwarke (I confesse) were it not, that Gods power had first prescribed the bounds; then followes the ayre, strangely and miraculously supporting a weighty burthen of clouds; at length we come to the fire, which being kindled and preserved by the swift and continuall motion of the heavens, as it drawes nearer and nearer the poles, so is it more and more lessened, and giues place to the middle region of the ayre, which is therefore excluded from the burning and scalding zones; wheere (instead of shewers) they haue their morning dewes and the sweet springs, to bewater their drie and scorched soyle.

For the truth and certainty of this deluge, see how God did dispose in his providence, that the Ark should  
rest

The wonder  
was greater in  
the ceasing of  
the flood.

The wonders  
of God in eu-  
ery element.



Proofes of the  
deluge from  
the resting of  
the Arke.

rest vpon the mountaines of Ararat, amongst which (as I finde it reported) there are the highest mountaines in the world, and the most in number; which was an vndoubted argument, that this floud did ouerwhelme the whole earth: and likewise these mountaines were furthest distant from the sea shoare, that so it might appeare to after ages, and succeeding generations, finding the remnant of this Arke, that the labour and industry of man, neither would nor could transport the Arke thither, but vpon sight thereof, they might acknowledge and remember the great in-undation of waters; for thus *Nicholaus Damascenus*, an heathen man writeth, that in a generall deluge, one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the top of these mountains, whereon there continued a long time after, certaine peeces and fragments of the Arke; and this might bee the same, which *Moses* the Law-giuer of the Iewes doth mention.

Reliques of  
the deluge in  
nature.

Many signes and tokens doe likewise appeare in nature, which as they are the reliques, so they serue as most vndoubted arguments and proofes of the deluge; at this day there are found, both in other nations, and (as I am informed) in the Ile of Man certaine trees, which serue both for timber and fuell, in such plenty and quantity, so many fadomes vnder the earth, as that by a probable coniecture they were there buried and couered in the time of the deluge; God foreseeing the wastfulness which man would commit in the spoyle of his woods, like a prouident master of a family layes vp his store, makes his prouision, and keepes his wood-yard safe lockt and conceald, vntill a time of necessity; sometimes likewise in the bottomes of seas and waters, where assuredly according to the coast and situation of the country, there hath bin alwayes a fluxe of waters, (supposing the world in the state, wherein now the world stands)

Trees.



stands) yet therein there hath bin discovered foundations of buildings, which assuredly were ouerthrow in the generall deluge; vpon the face of the earth I haue obserued rockes and stones seeming to hang in the ayre, without any circumiacent earth, whereas I did conceaue in reason, that these hauing no certaine growth, but only *per inxta positionem, & agglutinationem*, as the schooles speake, the bosome of the earth was the fit wombe to ingender them; and standing thus they did daily decay and decline, and therefore certainly were not thus from the first creation, but the conflux of waters hath vncouered them of earth, & hath left them there naked and bare, to be the immoueable markes of the great deluge.

When I consider the barrenesse of the earth for many leagues together, I cannot conceaue that it should be thus from the beginning, being Gods owne immediat workmanship, but that the salt waters haue caused this barrenesse, and when I consider the strange different mould of one and the same earth, as I haue often obserued, sand vpon clay, clay vpon grauel, grauel vpon chalke, chalke vpon sand, &c. Assuredly this diuersity neuer was in the first creation, neither hath it since been effected by any influence or operation of stars, but some general ouerflowing of waters, hath caused this variety of mould and complection; obserue how the goodnes or barrenesse of grounds followes certaine veines of the earth, not according to the coasts of the heauens, from East to West, from South to North, least you might ascribe it to the motion of the stars, but commonly by a wreathed and crooked forme, that you might rather ascribe it, to the current streames of the waters; but let vs dig vp the barren foyles, and sometimes we shall finde out marle-pits, which do vndoubtedly assure vs, that God hauing first created the earth,

gaue

Buildings.

Rocks.

Barrenesse.

The different  
mould.The veines of  
the earth.

Marle-pits.



Cole-pits.

gaue it a fatnes in the vpper crust thereof, but in the great in-undation of waters, being spread and couered ouer with sand, it is now baked and growne to a kinde of ripenes and melownes; so that (man vsing his labour and industrie) God hath now ordained it, to bee the compost of the earth, to supply the barrenesse of nature, in this last and old age of the world: let vs yet dig deeper, and happily we may come to some cole-pits, which consist of the oylie & vnctuous substance of the earth, which is laid and buried so deepe by the ouerflowing of waters, in the time of the deluge, as not being able to supply sap for the root of trees (whereunto it was first ordained by nature) it gathers it selfe to it selfe, and hauing a long time of concoction, without any great annoyance of waterie sappe, God hath ordained it, as a fit subiect for fuell, which in these last dayes, (our wood fayling, especially in these colde Northerne countries) God hath very plentifully discovered; and that which giues credit to this truth, I haue obserued this in the cole-pits, that where there hath been a moderate fall, and descent of water, there the cole hath been much weightier, brighter, and better; as for mettals there is not the like reason in them, for assuredly they follow the course of the heauens, as they are framed by a speciall influence of Starres; wherein appeares the goodnesse of God, that in so painefull and such a dangerous worke, poore man might obserue a greater certaintie in his labours.

Mountaines  
are shelues,  
vallies are the  
channels.

I suppose likewise, that the vn-euenness of the earth (the hills and the vales) were much caused by this general deluge; for ye shall obserue, that the highest mountaines vpon earth, carrie some proportion to the lowest bottome at Sea: for as the greatest height is supposed to be fixe and twentie or seuen and twentie miles vpright, so is the greatest deapth, that God might obserue



serue some kinde of proportion in the inequalitye, seeing that both earth and water should make one perfect globe, (thus the fish of the Sea resemble in feature and forme the beasts of the field, that so thou mightest acknowledge the same providence of God in both); for certaine it is, that all the terrible tokens, and signes of Gods anger and wrath, did accompanie the deluge; and as the waters did swell above measure, so the billowes and waues of the Sea did arise in a wonderfull and fearefull manner; and these (surely) might well cause a great inequalitye in the earth; and therefore you shall observe, that the hilles stand not alone, but are contiguous and adioyning together, as it were shelues raised vp with the waues, and carried with the streame; that it might appeare, that God in the midst of iudgement, remembreth mercy; for euen these hilles did serue as a speciall meanes (by Gods owne appoyntment) to allay the raging of the waters; and againe to gather them into one common storehouse, where they might bee hoded, and kept within their owne boundes.

The truth of this deluge to the Iewes and the Christians, is sufficiently warranted by the diuine testimonie, which is beyond all exception. Wee are likewise able to trace the continued succession of times, the descent of tribes and families from *Noah* and his Sonnes, as likewise the plantation of nations, the establishing of kingdomes and governments; so that nothing is defective in this kinde, to him that hath made but a small entrance in the studie of Chronologie; as likewise the attempts of men soone after the deluge, for preuenting the like inundation, as namely the building of *Babel*, &c. many things as yet appeare in their lawes and their customes; especially places (referred for keeping of their auncient recordes) so built, as that they might be

Proofes amongst the Iewes.



be free from the annoyance of waters.

For the Gentiles, their Philosophers considering that the world was vpheld by opposition and combat of elements, and that the elements were not equally matched, but doe fight vpon disadvantage; for two of them are actiue and two passiue, the actiue qualities farre exceeding the passiue in vertue, power and operation; hereby they did conceiue that there might be an ouerthrow and dissolution in nature, either by water or fire, which were therefore not improperly called the dreadfull and destroying elements; whereby the opinion concerning the generall deluge, was made the more credible, which deluge was known vnto them by the name of *Ogiges* or *Deucalions* flood: not, but that I acknowledge there was a flood which happened in the time of *Ogiges*, and another in the time of *Deucalion*; but assuredly such things are reported of these two floods, which could not be competent or agreeable, but onely to the vniuersall deluge; and therefore I suppose that the deluge was called by the name of *Ogiges* or *Deucalions* flood, because these gaue occasion, and did rippe vp and renew the memorie thereof; this I conceiue, because certaine it is, that *Noah* was called among the Gentiles, the first *Ogiges*, speaking of the flood which happened, *sub prisco Ogige*, and things which were past remembrance were called *Ogigia*; this deluge is likewise mentioned, by diuers most auncient heathen writers, as by *Berosus Chaldaeus*, *Hieronymus Egyptius*, *Nicholaus Damascenus*, *Abydennus* and others, according as both *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* doe proue; *Plata in Timao*, seemes to remember it; and *Berosus*, who was the most auncient writer among the heathen, beginnes his historie from the flood in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua vniversus perijt orbis, &c.* beyond which course of time no historie,

Testimonies  
of the Gen-  
tiles concern-  
ing the de-  
luge.



rie, no author, no monument is extant; and that you may not thinke, that this truth was fastened vpon the ancients, or that their workes should heerein admit a fauourable construction; the Heathen and Pagans at this day in Bresill, and other countries of the West-Indies, lately discouered in our age, where neuer any Christian professors were knowne to teach; yet they talke of the drowning of the world, which happened in times past; and they say, that this was left vnto them by tradition, time out of minde, by the inhabitants of those places.

But why doe I thus trouble my selfe with the deluge? behold I see a waterie signe in the cloudes, containing in it selfe a great varietie of glittering colours, as it were resembling the beautie of Nature, which by a speciall indulgence of God, shall preserue vs from the like in-undation of waters. It proceeds (I confesse) from waterie and naturall causes, and was before the deluge; but not as a sacramentall signe, or the earnest of Gods promise and couenant: for the ring is a ring, before it becomes a mariage ring, as things which consist in relation, first presuppose an entitie in themselves. Behold (I say) here is a bow; but here is our comfort, an emptie and a naked bow: Where is the shaft? it is alreadie shot, and spent; wee shall neuer neede to feare any further danger by this bow; for to my sight, and to my vnderstanding, it is rather bent against heauē, then against earth. I pray' obserue it aright; it should seeme that God hath so disposed it, that it might serue rather as a memoriall for God, to put him in mind of his promise, then as a terrour to man, to strike vs with feare of Gods vengeance. And therefore this bow shall serue as a bridge, as a bow-bridge, by which I will passe over this great in-undation of waters, *humbly praising and magnifying God, that as the old world was ouerwhelmed by*

Of the Raine-  
bow.



*waters; so God in his mercie hath appointed, that there should be a regeneration by waters, that the old Adam being washed and cleansed from sinne, we might be receiued into the arke of Christs Church, through the sanctifying waters of the holy flood of Iordan.*

Hauiing spoken of the first ouerthrow of the world by waters, I cannot but in a word, (for similitude of argument, though otherwise the iudgements shall bee wrought by different and contrary meanes), speake of the second ouerthrow, which shall be by fire, in a generall combustion. Behold then, the earnest of this last iudgement, when as Sodom and Gomorrha were consumed with fire from heauen, that it might serue for euer as a remarkable token, or the first beginning of a general combustion, which threatens the whole world. Vnto this day the place is vnhabitable, fire and brimstone hauing left such a strong sent, as might well argue the strange ebullition of their vnnaturall lust: and as it was a lust, which did not intend generation; so was it the most vnnaturall act, without any president or example of the brute beasts, for none of them are tainted with such vncleannesse. And therefore (behold) their punishment, carries a proportion and correspondencie to the offence: whereas they should haue intended by an orderly course of nature, the preservation of their seed, in the fruites of their loynes; the propagation of their kinde, and the continuance of their names and memories; themselues taking a cleane contrarie course, &c. (the remembrance hereof is most hatefull, detestable, and abominable to euery chaste and Christian minde). Therefore by the iust iudgements of God, these Cities were turned, by their destruction, into a strange lake; which vnto this day, is knowne by the name of *mare mortuum*, the dead Sea, wherein nothing can liue: for prooffe and certaintie whereof, as trauellers at this time can

The burning of Sodom and Gomorrha is an earnest of the last generall combustion.



can testifie as much, so many Gentiles, Heathen and foraine writers doe witnesse the same truth; as *Galen, Pausanias, Solinus, Tacitus, and Strabo*, all of them testifying and shewing the particular wonders thereof.

But you will say, that this iudgement is only proper and priuate to the inhabitants of those parts; and that little trust or credit is to bee given to trauellers in this kinde: though herein I could easily conuince you, for things shall speake for themselves, and in euery nation, there are many eye-witnesses of this truth; yet behold, for your further satisfaction, in the darke and thicke cloudes, how the thunder and lightnings are together encompassed, as if wee could not separate these iudgements, but that the one did carrie and portend the other, and (as it were) giue place to the other. For when the Sunne shall haue gathered out of the bowels of the earth, a sulfureous matter, fit and apt for combustion; as much in effect, as if I should say, when our iniquities are come to a full height, and ripenesse, and that our sinnes are climed vp to heauen, and there crie for vengeance, *cum calles obdurârint*; then behold, he that sits vpon the cloudes, doth together send forth a lightning and a thunder, for the decrees of God are inseparable, though there may be degrees in their execution. First the lightning astonisheth vs, like an admonition, or preparatiue to the subsequent iudgement, *ac si dicat cane, ne te fulmen interimat*; then followes the iudgement, which is vnresistable. Now if you please to consider this thunder and lightning, as tokens and forerunners of the last generall combustion; you shall finde the one a figure of the other, and very fitly to resemble it, by way of comparison.

But how am I false at length, to speake of water and fire? as if the Deluge, or the burning of Sodom, could

Thunder and lightning, tokens of the last combustion.



The author rec-  
alles himselfe.

betoken the generall fall and corruption; when as (indeed) they were the particular punishments of actuall finnes, proper and peculiar to the place, to the times, to the persons: vnlesse what hath befallne them, might serue as threatnings to vs; and that the whole nature in generall cannot be excused from that, which hath befallen any one in particular: but I will not stand to iustifie my selfe; indeed I was carried with the course and streame of the times, considering things as they fell out, according to their seuerall accidencies. If herein I haue erred, it is no great marueile, for behold my tongue is confounded, my tongue is confounded: and therefore in the next place, I will come to the next generall iudgement, which concernes whole mankind, namely the confusion of tongues.

8  
The confusion  
of tongues.

Genes. 11. vers. 7. *Come on, let vs goe downe, and there confound their language, that euery one perceiue not anothers speech, &c.* This confusion of tongues first began at Babell, and is now generally spread ouer the face of the whole world: common and daily experience can witnesse the truth of the successe, and the diuine testimonie shewes the first originall. *Eusebius* likewise citeth at large the testimonies both of *Abydenus*, who liued about King *Alexanders* time, and of *Sibylla*, as also the words of *Hestienus*, concerning the land of Senaar, where it was builded: and these Gentiles doe shew by reason, that if there had not been some such miracle in the diuision of tongues; no doubt but that all tongues being deriued of one (as all men are descended of one father) the same tongues would haue retained the same rootes, and principles, as in all dialects or deriuation of tongues, we see that it commeth to passe: but now (say they) in many tongues, at this day, wee see that there is no likelihood or affinity among the, but are all different the one from the other: and thereby it appeareth, that they



they were made diuers and distinct by some special miracle.

Herein the iustice of God appeares, that seeing man desired to continue his owne memorie, by the workes of his owne hands, without any reference to the diuine power; therefore God confoundeth their tongues, that their speech and their language might faile them, to record their owne acts: and that they might neuer bee able to conspire or take counsell together; when the one calles vp for timber, the other breakes his backe in carrying vp stones; one calles for his instruments and tooles, but another brings mortar to stop his mouth: thus euery man either suspecteth himselfe to bee in a dreame or else accuseth all others of madnesse and fol- lie; and thus there is a dumbe silence of prating crea- tures, there is a noyse or a sound without sense or signi- fication, for want of one knowne and common tongue to interpret. Thus the punishment was agreeable to the diuine iustice, and very conformable to mans present state and condition: for whereas our mindes are distra- cted with varietie of opinions, and our hearts carried headlong to diuers inordinate lusts; so the tongue should likewise bee confounded with many base and barbarous languages, some of them very harsh in pro- nunciation, that a man must wrong his owne visage, and disfigure himselfe to speake them: others without grauitie or wisdom in their first imposition, consisting only of many bare, and simple tearmes, not reduced to any certaine fountaines, or heads, which best resem- bleth nature: Many of them hindring mans thoughts, and wanting a sufficiēt plentie of words, cannot signi- ficantly expresse the quicknes of inuention, or liuelily expresse an action: some giuing way to fallacies and sophistrie, through Tautologies, ambiguous words, darke sentences; others inclining to ribaldrie, and luxu-

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The punishment is agreeable to mans condition.



The extent of  
this punish-  
ment.

rious speech : all of them daily enlarged, and refined, as hauing not yet attained any perfection, but still requiring the helpe of the pencill ; insomuch that within the compasse of a few yeeres, you shall not know them to be the same languages. Thus is man no counterfeit, for he is inwardly, and outwardly, totally confounded.

For the large extent of this punishment, it may well appeare by a due consideration, either of place, or time. For all nations in the world seeme more to be diuided with tongues, then with seas, with riuers, with bankes, or with governments ; and in the same tongue you shal obserue a great diuersitie of dialects, the Grecians speake diuersly their owne language, Attice, Ionice, Dorice. Take this one kingdome, and you shall finde that Seuerne & Trent do moysten the seuerall tongues of our people, and make a great difference, in one and the same language ; notwithstanding the preeminency of the one aboue the other, yet the meanest will not conforme it selfe to the best : the Welsh suppose their owne tongue to be as honourable, in regard of the antiquitie, as the English doe daily seeme curious in filing and refiling of theirs. Now in the succession of times it appeares, that all the ancient languages, which indeede were y<sup>e</sup> fittest caskets to containe y<sup>e</sup> Jewels of mysteries, haue already failed, either in the vse and speech of men, as the Hebrew, Greeke, Latin, Syriacke, Chaldaick, &c. or else are wholly extinct, and abolished. As heere in England, the Saxon tongue; and the language of the Picts in Italy; what tongues the Gothes and Vandols did speake : and he that shall peruse our English *Chaucer*, shall finde more difficultie in his words, then in his sense. And thus the confusion of tongues serues to bereaue vs of each others helpe ; we cannot partake with other nations in their counsell and experience. Our owne forefathers committing their workes to writings,





tings, they seeme aliens and strangers vnto vs; we cannot vnderstand them, without the vse of Dictionaries, and Commentaries.

To let passe, how nations haue issued out of nations, and all men descended from one, whereby they might retaine the same speech and language, for the learning and perfection of the reasonable soule; as they doe the like foode for preservation of their bodies, and the same seede for propagation of their kind. But for this varietie of tongues, I would gladly aske, Doe not all other creatures of the same kinde, agree in one and the same language of nature, wherby they testifie to each other, either their ioy, or their sorrow? Haue not many birds as much varietie in their notes and tunes, and yet all are the same in the same kinde; as there are words and syllables which passe betweene men? I pray, doth it not appeare, in all other workes of nature, that the inward forme doth naturally of her selfe discover her selfe, by some outward propertie? and why should not the reasonable soule make her selfe knowne by a naturall speech and language, that wee might see the inward man as well as the outward feature? for speech is the only companion, and witnesse of reason.

Consider the instruments of speech, the throate, the tongue, the teeth, the lips, and the pallat; are they not the same, and alike in all men? Is not the ayre and breath the same, which frames the sound of this voyce? Take all instruments of musicke, and being fashioned alike, you shal find a like sound, they consist of a meane, a treble, a tenour, a base, &c. they haue so many strings, so many stops, they giue the same musicke; that is, the same language in effect, though the lessons doe varie, that is, the difference consists in the diuersitie of their speech, or their conference. Are there not many naturall notes, which are alike common to all languages?

The strangenes of this iudgement.

The strangenes appears by way of comparison.



(our laughter, our sighing, our sobbing, our sneezing); cā the passions of the bodie thus naturally discover themselves, and yet cannot the minde naturally disclose her owne secretts? Is there any thing so proper and peculiar to man, as societie and fellowship; and yet for want of one common language, the kind cannot conuerse with it selfe? and yet you may obserue in all languages, how there is a necessitie of the same alphabet; for there are but fiue vowels, and more or lesse there cannot bee, which proceedes from the opening or contraction of the mouth: will Nature lay the foundation, and yet God in his wisdom forbid to finish this building? then is it euident, that contrarie to the first intent of nature, wee are changed and altered by sinne; God confounding our tongues, brings our workes to confusion.

Meanes to retain the same language.

But (I pray) consider the occasions which might serue for the retaining of the same language: Are not all men deriued from the loines of one, and the same man? haue not nations issued forth out of nations? and is it possible, that they should retain the same seede, remember their beginnings, obserue the same rites, customes and manners, and yet forget their owne language? In Pembroke-shire certaine Dutch-men being anciently permitted to inhabit, their posteritie vnto this day retaines the luxurie and riot (proper to that nation), and yet they haue forgotten their language. Thus the tongue serues to be *instrumentum gustus & loquela*, the instrument of taste, the instrument of speech; the one she still practiseth, the other she hath cleane forgotten; and in both you may acknowledge the corruption of mans nature, and the iust punishment of mans sinne.

If our beginning bee forgotten, and that wee haue learned a strange language; yet (me thinkes) the noble  
and



and braue conquest of Princes, especially the great Monarchs of the world, should haue reduced all things; as to the vniformitie of gouernment, so to the vniformitie of tongues: that all being ruled and guided by one law, hauing recourse to the Emperours court, doing their homage and seruice to his person; this might be an excellent meanes to auoyd barbarisme, and to re-unite the tongues of men in one speech, as the bodies of men are knit together vnder one yoke of subiection. But all will not serue against the diuine prouidence, for he confounded their tongues, who hath likewise confounded their Monarchies; sooner you may suppress a state, and put them all to the sword; then that you can bridle their mouthes, bring them to schoole, and teach them a new tongue.

If the sword cannot preuaile, yet (me thinkes) the necessity of trading, and commerce should inforce a necessity of the same language: especially considering that there are certaine fruits proper to nations; and as their soyle yeelds them, as their country affords them, so the inhabitants first impose the name, and this name should accompany the fruits, and be together transported to those nations, to whom these fruits are imparted; for (assuredly) the name would no way increase the burthen, or price of the commodities: but it should seeme, that together with the change of our windes, and our failes in the passage, we must alter these names; or els we haue forgotten the ould names, and remembring only the vse and valuation, we do well hope, that a new name may make a new price; supposing that it lies in our power, being now masters of the commoditie, to give it a name at our pleasure, and thus you see the confusion of tongues.

But of all other meanes to reduce the world to one language, (me thinks) the greatest consists either in the necessity

The Monarchies and conquests.

The necessity of trading and commerce.



The vniformi-  
ty of lawes and  
of religion.

necessity of the same lawes, which in ancient times haue gouerned the whole world; or els from the vniformity and concent of religion, which vnites and knits together the hearts of all men in one league of faith, the tongues of all men in one confession of faith, the actions of all men in one seruice of faith, and in the same bonds of charity and deuotion. So that there is notwithstanding the separation of persons, time, and place, a perfect communion of Gods Saints. If generall counsell should meete and assemble together, necessary it is, that they should confer in one common language, concerning such things as may generally tend to the good of the whole Church; or if we should be inforced to trauell, it were to be wisht that we might not be destitute of the meanes for our soules health, but that wee might bee fit to ioyne with all congregations in prayer; yet God forbid, that wee should pray in an vnknowne tongue, which in effect were, to offer vp vnto God, the calues of our lips (*vitulos labiorū*), without the burning incense of the heart, which should set on fire the sacrifice, and make it acceptable; and heere you may well obserue the curse of God in the confusion of tongues.

The punish-  
ment appears  
not only in the  
variety of  
tongues, but  
likewise in the  
distractiō.

This punishment doth not only argue how tongues are confounded among themselves, that from one naturall and instrumentall tongue, there should proceed infinit notes and numberlesse tongues and languages; but likewise how the tongues are distracted, from all other mans faculties; how hard it is, to keepe the heart and the tongue in an equal pace, that neither of them should run before, and leaue the other behind it: in our dearest prayers, doth not the mouth run ouer the seruice, when the heart is wandring in the fields about our ordinary vocation, and sometimes is stained with vncleane thoughts? hath not the tongue learned her lesson without booke, speakes like a Parrat, and seemes to excuse  
mans



mans negligence, and to conspire with the world and the flesh, for the couering and concealing of sinne; that without a first mouer, without the hearts direction or consent, she is able to play her owne part, and to set a difference between the outward and the inward man in one and the same person.

Suppose the heart and the tongue should ioyne their forces together, and both labour and ioyne in one action; yet what a difficulty appeares in respect of the subject, as if they could not discover their own inuentions or notions? how hard is it to describe an action to the full life? there must be as great wisdom and policie in the relation, as there was in the first assault and attempt; there must be the same spirit, life, courage and resolution: heere you shall finde words of defiance, as it were spit out in bloud; anon nothing but mildenes and tearmes of compassion: now to temper and square out a speech for men of all sorts, of all degrees, vpon all occasions, it is a very high point of wisdom; and therefore the Historian deserues great commendation, almost as much as the actors; and it were to be wished, that hee which holds vp his speare, should at length take vp his pen, and describe his own acts: *Cesar* hath written Commentaries, *Cominatus* the actions of his master, *Tacitus* the gouernment of the Romans, and *Machiavel* the state of the Florentins: if difficulty appeares in the relation, if the most naturall action of man, his speech be troublesome or defectiue; acknowledge the curse of man, in the confusion of tongues.

Especially I conceaue, that it is a great difficulty for a wiseman to expresse his own meaning, conceiuing all in an instant, after an angelical manner; for him to descend lower then himselfe, and cutting out his meaning by peeces, to square it by the rules of a method, to the meanest capacity; neither his patience will permit him, nor the

A difficulty for a man to expresse his own thoughts.

A wise man can hardly be a good speaker.



the height of his vnderstanding eleuated above the vulgar reach, can admit such a down-fall : in so much that you shall find few of the wisest men, to haue the best vterance and deliuery. Againe, multitudes of words betokens a great want of substance, and therfore desires to make recompence with leaues, for want of the fruit and kernell of vnderstanding ; for assuredly the greatest number and multiplying of words , argues the least weight and poise in the substance. But dumbe beasts are not therfore dumbe beasts , because they are not heard, for their sound and noyse is far greater then ours ; but they are therfore dumbe beasts, because they spake not distinctly to our vnderstanding : and so many men and many woemen may bee called dumbe, notwithstanding their verborositie and multitudes of words. The sweetnes of musicke appeares as well in the pause, the respit and keeping of time ; as in the notes, the tune, or the voyce : sometimes a silence is as fit, and as commendable in man, as at other times his speech, or his vterance.

The difficulty  
in learning  
tongues.

How great a part of our age is taken vp in learning of languages, from ten to twenty, from twenty to thirtie, scarce the whole life of man will suffice ? In all our Vniuersities, you shall finde the Greeke and Hebrew professors, to be the most ancient and the most painefull students ; and yet they teach nothing in effect, but only the bare language : how many Grammars, what infinit rules, what dictionaries, and phrases of speech are required for the helpe of our studies ? Grammar is the entrance, which leades to the mart of all sciences ; if thou mistakest thy selfe in the entrance, thou shalt greatly wander in the whole course of thy tranell : suppose thou hast laid a good foundation, and hast proued an excellent Grammarian ; yet their seems to be a kind of opposition between the studie of nature, and the knowledge  
of



of tongues: the one grounding it selfe, vpon the settled foundation of a good memory, the other quickned by the speedy discourse and apprehension of a ripe and forward wit: neither do tongues follow the order and course of nature, for in many things which nature hath rankt in one kinde, and giuen them the same properties, yet in grammar you shall find them infinitely to differ in their genders, their numbers, declensions; whereas indeed there should bee some kind of affinity between Logick and Grammar, the one directing his vnderstanding, the other framing his speech, and both of them should ranke things *in serie predicamentali*: as things are ioyned or differ in nature, so they should obserue the like agreement or distance in mans conceit or vtterance; and yet the art it selfe is to be excused, *loquendum vt vulgus*, such was the necessity of Grammar, that it proceeded not by degrees like other arts, nor cannot admit a reformation, as being promiscuously dispersed through the mouths of the multitude; yet such hath bin the painfull attempts of the learned, that heerein they haue left nothing vndone, which might make for the perfection of the art.

The greatest confusion (in my iudgement) doth herein especially appeare, when the parts do wilfully and maliciously oppose each other: that notwithstanding the hearts priuitie and knowledge, together with the inward and vndoubted testimony of his own conscience; yet the tongue and the outward man shall sweare and depose the contrary: and therein shall take God to be the witnesse of falshood, as if they did desire God to alter and change his owne nature, rather then these miscreants will conforme themselves to the truth of his nature. Here you see the corruption of man in the confusion of tongues, heere is the height and top of all misery; now as steps and degrees hereunto, are lying, equi-  
uocation

Defects in  
Grammar.

*Aristotiles*  
Loquendū: vt vulgus  
Sapiendū: vt sapientes  
we must speake as  
the common sort do:  
but beleeue as the  
wise do

Periury and  
lying proceed  
from this con-  
fusion.



uocation, mentall reseruatiō, ambiguous, doubtful and darke speeches; all which haue their degrees of accessse vnto periurie, according to substance or circumstance. And hence it is, that the casuist Diuine desiring truth, and nothing but truth, obligeth the conscience, and inforceth the speaker, to speake according to the vnderstanding of another, and not of himselfe; so that he must be inwardly perswaded in his owne conscience, that the other did conceiue him, in the same manner, as hee himselfe vnderstood his owne words; otherwise at the barre of his conscience hee shall be iustly condemned for falsehood and lying.

The very  
tongues doe  
sometimes ob-  
scure and hin-  
der our know-  
ledge.

To leaue the great and crying sinne of periurie, it stood with the iustice of God (the heart and the tongue being thus diuided) to set a difference betweene the care and the vnderstanding: that as man deales with God, and deales with man deceitfully; so God frames out his iustice according to measure and rule, that man might bewaile his owne punishment, for committing the like offence; for assuredly many tongues doe much hinder the diligent search of the truth. It were to bee wished, that we might speake the language of *Adam*, where names were imposed according to the nature of things; but now it should seeme, there is a great difference, for the most pleasing speech adorned with Metaphors, and Figures, is not the fittest for the discouerie of a truth: and on the contrarie, all the schoole learning, which indeed is the very touch-stone of all truth, and in it selfe is most wise, and farre transcending the ordinarie capacitie, yet suffers the shamelesse and malicious reproch of barbarisme, for want of the elegancie of stile; and all the first parents and authors thereof, who indeed were the lights and lampes of all true learning, as *Lumbard*, *Sanctus Thomas*, *Scotus*, *Occam*, yet are contemned and neglected by this poetickall and phanta-

Hebrew



phantaſticall age, which delights more in words then in ſubſtance.

To giue an euident prooſe of this confuſion of tongues, how plentiful are the ſchools, and how doe they abound with multitudes of diſtinctions? all answers muſt end with diſtinctions, which aſſuredly wel argueth, that if the branches muſt neceſſarily be diuided, to ſerue the preſent turne and occaſion, yet ſtill the roote is confounded: a great iudgement of God, that man hauing forſaken the firſt fruite, and hauing aſſociated himſelfe to the beaſts of the field; therefore he proues a ſtranger to himſelfe, to his brethren, and forgets his owne mother tongue. Indeede I haue heard it reported by authors, that if a man were taught no other language, then hee ſhould ſpeake Hebrew, the ſame language which *Adam* ſpake in the beginning: but I ſhould as eaſily belecue, that if a man wanted all poſſible meanes to ſuſtaine life, that then hee ſhould inſtantly recouer Ieruſalem, from the hands of the Turks, and that God ſhould there call all the tribes together, or raiſe vp *Adam*, there to conuerſe and talke with him in the Hebrew tongue; as that he ſhould ſpeake naturally Hebrew, for the curſe was generall in the confuſion of tongues: though ſpeech be proper and naturall to man, yet this, or that language, followes the franke and free impoſition of man, and hath no ground-work in nature.

That which gaue occaſion to this opinion, was this, what language men ſhould ſpeake in Paradiſe, or after the laſt reſurrection, ſuppoſing that language to bee naturall to man; and certainly of all the tongues extant, Hebrew is the likeliſt, for it was of Gods owne impoſition and framing, before ſinne had defiled man; it contained the greateſt and higheſt myſteries, and of all other tongues, ſeemes to bee the fitteſt arke to containe them.

Whether man  
ſhould ſpeake  
naturally He-  
brew.

Whether we  
ſhall ſpeake  
Hebrew after  
the laſt reſur-  
rection.



them. Christ and his Apostles were Hebrewes, first sent to the Iewes, and then to the Gentiles. Vpon the Crosse Christ vsed his owne tongue, *Eloi eloi lama sabachthani*, notwithstanding the tongue was vnknowne to the souldiers. And in the Apocalyps, although the booke was first written in Greeke, yet the Angels song in heauen is there recorded in Hebrew: but when I consider, that man shall haue a higher state, then was the state of Paradise, and that his bodie shall be much more spirituall, and his vnderstanding more illuminated, then euer before; for we shall then be like the Angels of heauen, who speake to each other, by directing the edge of their vnderstanding to each other, as it were opening the glasses, and casting foorth a light to each other: Considering (I say) the different condition of renewing to a better state, and continuance in the same state, they must pardon me, if I doe not affirme this, as an vndoubted truth in mine owne priuate opinion.

The inconueniences proceeding from this confusion of tongues.

From this diuersitie and varietie of tongues, you shall obserue a great disorder both in the State and in the Church; whence proceedes the enmitie betweene nations, and the first occasion of reproch? where doe they first begin to discouer themselues, but onely from the diuersitie of the garbe and the language? To see a poore Northerne man, with his gaping & wide mouth vsing his broad and flat speech, brought vpo the stage, heere is a subiect of laughter for the multitude: but I feare, that this hate and enmitie betweene nations, doth nourish and adde fuell to the hot strife and contention of the Church, in the point of her controuersies; or at least I may truly say, that infinite are the contentions of the Church about words; all which proceed from that curse of man, the confusion of tongues; which we cannot auoide, but seeme rather daily to increase our own shame: we fight about shadowes, wee contend about words;



words; many doubts in Christian religion seeme to be grounded vpon the signification of words, and tearmes of art; how many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church? a question of words: doe Sacraments conferre grace, *ex opere operato*? a question of words; is honour due to the Saints? a question of words, and such like infinite questions.

Sometimes in the very exposition, or interpretation of words, being simple and first notions, (as the schoole speakes) and no tearmes of art: there are many & great controuersies in Christian religion, whether Christ in his sole and humane nature did really and truly descend into hell; if wee could agree vpon the exposition of the word, it would sufficiently resolue the controuersie: or will you see an infernal state here vpon earth, whether *presbyteri* should signifie lay elders, or not; it hath been much disputed by some men, whose zeale is not according to knowledge. Thus the holy Ghost being the penman of Scripture, giuing the stile, the words, the method, as well as the sense: if any one of these be altered or changed, it loseth the strength of the Canon; and therefore he that shall take vpon him to interpret Scripture, doth only giue his owne exposition of Scripture; which exposition being priuate and proper to himselfe, I will regard it no more, then the opinion of one priuate man; so that, if in my reading of the Fathers, I shall obserue some generall agreement, together with their learned iudgements, though Scripture be not instantly quoted to that purpose, yet I will respect it as much, as I will the Geneva translation. Lest other professions should thinke much of our iarres, I will therefore in the second place instance in the wisdom of the Law: what infinite suites are daily commenced, when as the whole doubt ariseth from the extent and signification of words? A Lordship hauing

X

faire

Great controuersies about words.



Gods mercie  
in the vnion of  
these king-  
domes of Eng-  
land and Scot-  
land.

faire demaines, a beautifull house, many tenants, great seruices and homage, sold at a valuable price; yet now recald againe, cast vpon the heire at common law for want of sufficient words to conuay it.

As I haue remembred the iust punishment for our sinnes, so giue me leaue in thankfulness of minde to consider Gods prouidence, in this our confusion of tongues. And that especially to vs, for God in his mercy intending to vnite and knit together these 2. kingdoms of *England*, and *Scotland*: Hee so ordained it from the beginning of the world, that (like twins) they should both speake one tongue, and one language; vntill in his due time hee should giue the promised Land to *Iacob*, and to his posterity for euer. Notwithstanding that the truth of their beginning doth not certainly appeare in Histories, notwithstanding some little enmity which passed betweene both (for neighbour kingdoms are not alwaies the greatest friends), and that little meanes of trading or commerce passed betweene both; yet God preserved their tongues, intending to vnite their hearts vnder the happie gouernment, of one entire and absolute Monarch. So that now the seas are our wals on the right hand, and on the left hand, wee neede not feare the Egyptians, wee are built as a City, *Pacem habens ad inuicem*, which is at vnitie within it selfe: *Deus nobis hac otia fecit; fecit nos in gentem vnā, & quos Deus coniunxit, homo ne separet*; God hath made vs one Nation, and one people, and whome God hath ioyned, let no man set a sunder.

Ancient and  
strange tongues  
adde lustre to  
Sciences.

Secondly, whereas the confusion of tongues seemes to make for the difficulty and obscurity of knowledge; behold the great prouidence of God, for supposing the state of man to be (such as it is) wholly corrupted; such is the neglect of man, that if Arts and Sciences were not kept secret, as Mysteries concealed in the habite of vn-  
knowne



knowne tongues, assuredly they would neuer be esteemed in that high account and reputation. If gold were not digged out of Mynes, with great labor, the losse of mens liues, and farre transported; if it lay naked and open, as common as stones, assuredly wee should neuer regard it. Nouelty and strangenesse moues the minde of man, more then the true worth and perfection of things; the ancient tongues are fittest to discouer knowledge, they are like rich garments, or olde robes, kept for the honour and memory of our Ancestours, to shew our descent and first originall. They are like chaires of estate, to giue honour and maiesty to Sciences, that thou shouldest not sodainely approach vnto them, without some ripenesse and stayednesse in iudgement; and hauing once attained them, thou shouldest retaine them in a more magnificent manner. Now he that discouers them, layes open their nakednesse, makes them knowne to the vulgar eye, and clothes them with a homely attire of a common and barbarous tongue; as hee offers great wrong and iniury to all students in generall, so he doth much abase that Art whereof hee writes, which is his principall subiect, and whereof he should principally intend the praise and commendation; and likewise hee looseth the fruite and end of his labour, for it is impossible to teach any man perfectly an Art, whereof he shal not make the profession.

In this confusion of tongues, the same prouidence of God doth likewise appeare, as concerning the poynt of our religion, and the manifestation of his owne glory; (not to speake of the wisdome and power of God, who vnderstandeth all tongues, and searcheth the hidden secrets of the heart); it shall appeare by these two instances, first in the humiliation and passion of Christ, notwithstanding that all the powers of man, together with the malice of the deuill, did conspire against Christ;

*mens auida noui*

Against translations.

That the title of Christ and Scripture should continue vnchangeable.



though they put him to a shamefull death, yet could they neuer alter his superscriptiō, *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum*: which was written in three seuerall Languages, as it were proclayming him to the whole world the king of the Iewes; though *Pylate* might bee enforced to crucifie him, yet he could neuer bee enforced to alter or change the title, which was lesse in effect, *Quod scripsi, scripsi*, for so the wisedome of God hath decreed; and impossible it was, that one iot or tittle of the lawe should miscarry, which law whole and entire, together with the superscription and kingdome of Christ, hath still beene continued, maugre the attempts of men, the slanders and reproches of the Iewes, when they themselves were scattered; the malicious practises of the Gentiles, when they themselves are confounded; the manie persecutions, and great effusion of blood in the Church, which indeed did serue as seed to ingender, that so the blessing of God might appeare in this our confusion of tongues.

The gift of  
tongues.

Secondly, after his exaltation, he tooke occasion by this diuersity of tongues, to send into the world his holy and blessed Spirit; which came to the Apostles in the forme of fiery and clouen tongues, *Linguas attulit, qui pro verbo venit*, he y came to beare record to the word, brought with him multitudes of tongues: by vertue of these tongues y Apostles receiued in an instant (without further teaching, onely by the infusion of Gods spirit, all manner of languages); wherby it should seeme, that God intended to restore the ruines of *Babell*; and to enable them for their message to all Nations, for euery mans conuersion; which sodaine gift of tongues, was a seale of their embassage, and did serue as a miracle to confirme the truth of their doctrine. See how God laughs at the counsailes of men; men intending to build vp a tower vnto Heauen, for the continuance of their memory



memory, God confoundeth their tongues, and brings their works to confusion. Now God on the other side, (as it were to make some recompence and satisfaction, desiring to build Heauen vpon earth, to erect a state of happinesse, and saluation in the midst of misery and sinne), layes a better foundation, and giues his Apostles the gift of all tongues; hee sends downe fiery tongues, that being like burning Lampes, they might serue to enlighten and enflame others: these fiery tongues were clouen, that the benefit might be imparted and redound vnto others, and not bee reserued whole and entire to themselues; *Habuerunt dissectas linguas, bilingues non erant*, they knew not (though they knew all languages) the language of Equiuocation; they knew not how to propose words consisting onely of dead letters, and bare syllables, hauing stolne away the sense and true meaning, by (a trick of cousonage) some secret mentall reseruation. Nay rather their great Lord and Master, whose seruants and vessels they were, to carry his name & his title to all Nations; he was *verbum in intellectu*, a word first begotten in the vnderstanding of God, borne againe (as I may so say) in the heart of euery beleeuing man by faith, and from the heart issuing forth at the tongue; where he seems to be again incarnate, clothed with the basenes of our words, as he was formerly clothed with y<sup>e</sup> vildnesse of our flesh. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Apostles preached nothing but *Iesus*, their workes were all wrought by the power & name of *Iesus*, all their thoughts were sanctified by the spirit of *Iesus*; as they appeared outwardly, such was their inward substance, (*Holocaustum*) a whole burnt sacrifice, set on fire with these fiery tongs, kindling and enlightening the whole world, and leauing sparkes of this fire to their successours, (for the lampes must alwaies burne in the Temple, *Exod. 27. vers. 20*). The Church must alwaies be visible, that men

The holie  
Ghost came in  
fiery tongues.





The Author  
here humbly  
craues pardon  
for all his er-  
rors.

may know where to repaire for their soules health) by vertue of the most holy imposition of hands.

I will not stay my time, and in the latter end of my speech craue pardon for all my offēces, here rather I wil now snatch at the present occasion, so fitly offered: if I haue spoken any thing, or shall hereafter speake in this Pamphlet, vnaduisedly, illiterately, without good order or methode; acknowledge (I beseech thee) the generall punishment of whole mankind, which more especially discouers it selfe in my weakenesse, the confusion of tongues. I am confounded, I am confounded, poore silly wretch that I am, I am confounded, my minde is distracted, my tongue is confounded, and my whole nature corrupted; in me, in mee alone, see the punishment of whole mankind, learne now to be compassionate, and pitifull, for I cannot altogether excuse thee; *Nihil humani à te alienum putes*, here is thy benefite indeed, my weakenesse appeares, the presse hath proclaimed it, this Pamphlet can witnesse it; and thine is yet vndiscouered.

He recals him-  
selfe.

Now in this generall confusion, I know not where to betake my selfe, or what to speake in the next place, for my tongue is confounded: I will therefore suppose my selfe to be lost in the woods, and thar at length after much wandering I should recall my selfe; and finding no way for my passage, I should haue recourse to my Carde, and consider the intended scope of my iourney, from whence I came, *Natus ex muliere*; my present state and condition, I am a sojourner and stranger, as all my forefathers were; the scope and end of my trauell, *Puluis in puluerem*, from dust to dust, that so (at length) I might safely arriue to mine own natie Country, *à statu via ad statum patriæ*. Now certainly right reason would thus informe and instruct mee, *Vt secundum rectam lineam incedam*, that borne of the dust, and tending



ding to the dust, I should keep my straight way, neither puffed up with pride above my naturall state, nor sinking downe with despaire beneath my condition; that I should not vpon any occasion start out of the way, but remembring my beginning, remembring my end, I should square out my course and trauaile accordingly. Intending therefore to speak of the Fall of Man, the corruption of nature, & the punishment of the first sinne, I will lay aside all other slighter punishments, all chastisements and corrections of sinne, which were infinite to repeate; and I will onely insist in those two generall iudgements, being indeed the extreames, the first and the last, including all other punishments within their bounds, 1. *In dolore paries*, thou shalt bring forth with paine and sorrow, being spoken to the woman; 2. *Morte morieris*, thou shalt dye the death, pronounced indifferently against both: and thus his corruption shal appeare by his first welcome and salutation into this world, and by his last adue and farewell out of his world; you shall better iudge of the whole course of his entertainment in this world.

*In dolore paries*, Gen. 3. vers. 16. *Vnto the woman God said, I will greatly increase thy sorrowes and thy conceptions: in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children, &c.* As the woman first sinned in tasting the forbidden fruite, so she is punished in the fruite of her owne wombe; here is the fruite of Gods iustice. But is it possible, that the most naturall action, which indeede intends the highest perfection of nature, *generare sibi simile*, should notwithstanding proceede with such difficultie, danger, and torment? In all other actions and workes of nature, you shall easily obserue, how they flow with the greatest ease and delight of the subiect. O how sweete and acceptable is sleepe to the wearisome body, meate to the hungry, drinke to the thirstie! and so for al other naturall

The punishment in womens conception and deli- uery.



naturall workes ! I will not insist in them ; take death it selfe, as it is natural to man, so vndoubtedly it is without sorrow or griefe : for the punishment was, *morte morieris*, but not, *in dolore morieris* : if you will suppose man to rise by steps and degrees, and to fall againe by the same steps and degrees ; suppose him (I say) growing vnto 25.yeers, when the moysture seemes to bridle his heate ; then increasing in strength vnto 33.yeeres, there to come to a state of consistencie, vntill 50.yeeres be expired ; then by the same degrees declining and decaying, so that his moysture and heate giues place to his coldnesse and drinesse ; comming at length to the disease of old age, without any vnnaturall distemper, assuredly his life shall end as doth a lampe for want of oyle, fire for want of fuell, without any paine or torment : but as the breath proceedes from his nostrils, so shall the soule take her flight, and leaue the carkase behinde her ; for heerein consists the difference betweene naturall and vnnatural actions, the one performed with the greatest ease and facilitie, the other being wrung out with violence, carrie in themselues torture and sorrow. Thus all diseases proue therefore our torments, because they are vnnaturall ; then why should nature be defectiue in her highest worke, that conception and deliuerie should bee with such sorrow ? whereas the principall intent of nature is to preserue her selfe, and to propagate her seed : behold the punishment and corruption of nature, when she cannot performe the one, without the great hazard and danger of the other ; this certainly cannot consist with the first institution, and integritie of nature, but is a subsequent punishment accompanying our sinne.

Consider all other creatures, and you shall finde that by the seate and disposition of their wombes ; by the forme, figure, and members of the embrion ; by the proportion



portion and quantitie betweene both; there should be as great, if not a farre greater difficultie in their production, then in the generation of man: And yet you shall finde it farre otherwise, notwithstanding the numbers which many creatures bring forth at once, and euery one of the carrying the like proportion to the damme, as the childe doth to the mother; yet are they able to worke, and continue in their full strength, vntill the instant time of their deliuerie, they know the iust time of their bearing, and doe prepare themselves accordingly; they can hasten or prolong the time of their bringing forth; which well argues their strength of nature, and the action without paine; they are neuer so perfectly sound, vnlesse they are bearing, some of them bringing forth by great numbers at once; others bring forth euery day, as our common hens; and all of them seeme to promise a kinde of certaintie in their bearing, and yet in all of them the proportion, whether for weight, quantitie, or figure appears to be the same with vs; and therefore should inforce the like sorrow, and difficultie in them as in the woman. Yet they crye for no helpe of midwiues, they want no keepers, or nurses; they are deliuered without paine, or sorrow, they haue forthwith strength to make their owne prouision, for themselves, for their brood; yea their courage seems much to be increased, that vpon any slight occasion they are so ready to fight in defence of their yong ones. Will you see their ioy immediatly vpon their deliuerie? hearken, hearken (the pratling gossip) the cackling henne, as soone as an egge is laid, (though at all other times she seemes to be mute) yet now she sings, and disquiets the whole house; either to boast of the fruitfulness of her wombe, or to discover her hidden treasure: lest the goodwife should thinke her barley and corne ill spent, behold a free oblation and profit, to recompence

Other creatures are compared with mā in his birth.



pence the losse; or to be a president and example to vs, to teach women their manner in Churching, which ought to be with a song of ioy and thankfulness to God, for the fruits of their wombe, and for their happy deli- uery.

How this pu-  
nishment is to  
be vnderstood.

If some other creatures seeme to labour in the birth, then acknowledge, that for mans sinne the whole earth was accursed, and the dumbe creatures groane vnder the burthen of our sinne; and therefore no maruaile, if sometimes they share with vs in the punishment; for thence we conclude the great offence, the malignitie and infection of sinne, but I speake *ut plurimum*, for the most part, it falls out among them not in one of a hundred; but in mans kinde it doth most eminently appeare, and therefore acknowledge vs to be the principals, and them only as the accessaries in sinne. Againe, if some women be of that strong constitution, so made and fashioned by nature, so helpt and furthered by art, that they are easily deliuered; yet still are they deliuered with some paine, and I speake *ut plurimum*, for the most part; generally in the whole kind, you shall obserue it a punishment, if some do better escape then others, it is Gods mercy to them, not one of a hundred but suffers a great torment: more or lesse griefe alters not the truth of Gods iudgements, when sorrow it selfe was the punishment. As likewise in that other punishment of death, some die without paine; as many in their ould age, when their body is not so sensible, the least stopping of their breath puts out their candle; whereas the yong man sicke of the stone or the plurisie, dies in great tortures, for heere the paines and torments of death were not the punishment, but death it selfe: so likewise in child-bearing, more or lesse sorrow was not appointed, the measure of sorrow was not prescribed, but sorrow in generall here was the punishment; though Scripture  
and



and all ancient writers, do number it amongst the greatest torments: sometimes indeed Gods iustice is allayed with his mercy, and his wisdom permits the workes of nature to passe vncontrolable; that so it might appeare, that our sorrowes and infirmities proceed not from the necessity of our nature, but from the incident malignity of our sinne.

Reasons (I know) there are alleaged in Physicke and Philosophy, for this great paine in the birth and generation of man: suppose it did proceed from natural causes, yet would it then argue a great corruption of nature, that should thus ordaine the beginning of man with the great sorrow and griefe of his mother; as if man were of a viperous kinde and brood, gnawing the bowels that first hatched and conceaued him: but I do assure you, that if you shall well weigh all those causes, which seeme to produce the torments, you shall find them very much defectiue, and such as cannot giue you any satisfaction; but herein I must be sparing in regard of my profession, and speaking in a common and vulgar tongue; these are secrecies proper to woman, yet I may boldly say it, that nature heerein seemes to outstrip her selfe, and to torment the poore woman beyond all natural causes. For the trees in producing their fruit, seeme then to be most beautifull, and do yeerely afford it; all the beasts of the field do the like in the time of their greatest growth, and best perfection: only the the woman notwithstanding her strength and ablenesse of body, it will not excuse her; notwithstanding her good complection, and sound constitution, it will not auaille her, for she is only subiect to sorrow.

Sorrow I say, for there is no sorrow comparable to the sorrow of a woman in the time of her trauaile; from their first quickning or conception you shall obserue them, with pale lookes, heavy eyes, apt to faint vpon euery

Naturall causes cannot demonstrate the paine.



The continuall  
danger and  
paine in con-  
ception.

euery occasion, they are a burthen to themselves, their stomackes faile them, and the night giues them no rest; all the deuouring and rauinous wilde beasts are aptest to seaze vpon them; the least knocke or blowe, the least ill sauour or bad sight, the least sorrow conceiued in the fantasie, is able to indanger all; to hazard the life both of the mother, and of the childe in her wombe. Not to speake of the naturall greife arising from natural causes, sometimes nature seemes with too much expedition to hasten her woe, and then ye haue an vntimely brood, as if Autum should fall out in the spring; sometimes the wombe proues likewise the tombe, and the place of conception, serues for his buriall; after seauen or nine moneths expectation, behold hee comes, carrying the forme of a slaine and a murthred man, and so he presents himselfe to his sad mother, to comfort her heauie heart; being once thus deliuered, the danger is not past, but she must be attended on with safe keeping and good diet; and thousands daylie miscarry, when in mans expectation they seeme to haue ouerpassed al danger of child-birth.

Men mid-  
wiues.

But heere I will acquaint you with a strange point of crueltie, men must become wiues, men among wiues, men-midwiues I meane; who with the strength of their limbes, and in the hardnesse of their hearts, must execute that, which the weaker sex (compassionat women) durst neuer attempt: pittie it were that there should be such a profession of men, were it not, that necessity in-forceth it; before I can speake of them with patience, *I will first fall downe on my knees, bould up my hands, lift up mine eyes, and (if I can) I will shed forth a few teares, and humbly desire God to helpe, and comfort all those poore sllie women, which shall haue occasion to vse their helpe: heere you shall see sometimes the bellies opened, the flesh rent, the tunicles cut in sunder, to finde out a*  
new



new passage for the poore infant, who must come into this world through the bowels of his dead mother, and vpon his first approch, may be iustly accused, and arraigned for a murtherer; if his mother escape, then sometimes you may see the poore innocent childe mangled, executed and quartered in the wombe: there was no great offence (I confesse), vnlesse it were the sin of his first father; but indeed I am affraid to speake any longer of these bloudy cruelties, I will not lay open my nakednesse, I will not defile mine owne neast, the punishment sufficiently appeares, and well betokens the corruption.

As I haue made man the instrumēt of cruelty, so I cannot alwayes & altogether excuse him, from the paine in her trauell; and therfore here in the midst of sorrow, I will bring forth a subiect of laughter; I will set him vpon the stage, I pray' obserue him aright: Did you neuer heare of fathers, which breed and beare their own children? their wiues conceiue, and the husbands, who shuld be the only comfort in the time of their weaknes, first begin to complaine of the sorrow; *Iuno Lucina fer opem*, I pray' send for the midwiues, and let vs see what this great mountaine will bring forth: forsooth his teeth ake, his bones are crasie, his eye-sight fayles him, hee is troubled with rheumes, sometimes with the megrime; Physicke will not helpe him, the times of the yeere will not auaille him, but the poore man must expect his wiues deliuerie. Hath God ordained this to shew the entire league, and compassionat heart, that should passe between man and wife, and how they are both equally engaged in the issue? hath God appointed this to teach man and wife, that the end of their loue should tend to procreation? strange it were and wonderfull in nature, were it not, that the husband is the sonne of a woman, and therfore partakes of her weaknes and imperfection,

partus

Men bearing  
their owne  
children.



Why God so  
punisheth the  
husband.

*partus sequitur ventrem*, and is in some sort lyable to her curse.

Heere you would expect of me, that I should assigne and point out the causes of this fellow-feeling, and strange affection between man & wife; happily I could guesse at some of them, but for certainty I know none: rather I would flie to the diuine prouidence, beyond the reach and compasse of nature; who for assuring man, that he himselfe hath coupled them together, and that both persons are but one flesh, therefore he hath giuen them but one sense & feeling of the same sorrow. That as in their estate one and the same calamity doth equally befall them; so in their persons, one and the same misery doth equally attach them, which God hath ordained by secret, and hidden causes best known to himselfe; that, as many diseases are infectious, and spread themselues by the company and society of others; so here the same handie worke of God appeares, to the astonishment of naturall Philosophy.

Why there are  
secret qualities  
which cannot  
be knowne.

Will you yet presse me further, to lay open the secret causes, and hidden qualities of things: suppose the sympathetic and antipathie of creatures; my answer is, that these arise from the great conformity, or contrariety of temper in the inbred qualities, and naturall constitution: in so much that you shall obserue, that in such liuing creatures, in whom there is an antipathie (suppose them to be dead), yet in their very carkases, in the bones and the flesh, as long as any spice of their temper remains, the contrariety will appeare in the different and contrary operations. Now this contrariety appeares, not in the contrary qualities alone, but in the degrees of these qualities, and in such degrees, as they are best fitted and proportioned to each other: nature it should seeme hath ballanced them, and squared them out fit for the combat. Now the degrees of things are infinit,



as time is diuided into infinite moments, quantitie into infinit points; so qualitie into infinit degrees, and things infinit do not fall within the reach of mans comprehension; neither are the formes of things subiect to our knowledge, *propter nimiam actiuitatem*, for as things are in nature compounded, so in the vnderstanding of man they cannot be found simple: the influence of the heauens is wholly vnknowne, *propter spiritualitatem*, as being no way materiall or sensible; whereas all mans knowledge must presuppose the foundation & information of sense. And thus it is no maruaile, if many things in nature be wholly vnknowne; when as the forme is vnknowne, the influence vnknowne, the degrees of qualities vnknowne: that so the first curiosity of mans knowledge, might be iustly recompensed with blindness and ignorance.

Philosophy (as likewise all other arts and sciences), treates onely of things generall, and cannot descend to things in particular, with their particular degrees: as for example, we diuide this sublunary world, into foure elements, euery element into three regions; here we consider two qualities, one in extremitie, the other remisse; these qualities we diuide into foure seuerall degrees: the Physitian he descends somewhat lower, & doubles his fyles, deuides them into eight, as may bee best fitting for his purpose, and here hee stands and cannot march any further. For compound bodies, we consider their kindes, their formes, their constitution, their properties, their differences, and common accidents: we reduce nature (which appeares confused to mans vnderstanding) into a certaine method, appointing the bounds of sciences, to bee the meares for our government, and direction in the course of our studies; and in euery science we consider the principles, the subiect, and the affections; as far as God hath inabled man, so far hath

The extent of  
Philosophy  
concerning  
her subiects.



hath the industrie of man transported his knowledge; yet we cannot descend to particulars, God hath denied this perfection, as it appeares; for the objects of the sense are singulars, the objects of the vnderstanding are vniuersals: as the sense cannot exceed his own bounds, and eleuate it selfe to the height of the vnderstanding; so neither can the vnderstanding stoope downe to the sense: God hath giuen vs an inspection of nature, but no absolute and perfect knowledge of nature, hauing reserued that for himselfe.

Why the husband partakes in the wifes passions.

Hee that shall desire to bee better informed in these hidden and secret qualities, I would referre him to those learned authors, from whom (I suppose) he should receiue good contentment, and satisfaction: as namely, *Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, Zimara, Fracastorius* and others. Now for this present instance, why the husband should be thus affected in his wiues conception; it is not vnknowne to al skilfull Musicians, the great concord which is betweene the eights; not onely for the sweete harmonie of musicke, but if the Instrument shall be thus set, and disposed for the purpose, the one string being easily touched, the other will likewise moue for companie: assuredly between man and wife, their loue and their affections concurring together, there is likewise a greater sympathie, and agreement in their naturall temper and constitution, and therefore are fitter disposed to worke vpon each others body; as kindred descending from one stocke, are apter to infect and annoy each other in a pestilent disease. Besides their constitution, man and wife living together, seeding on the same meates, resting together, and conuersing together, as at all times, so sometimes, when their bodies are more apt to be tainted; no marueile if some husbands, (and yet but a few, for God gaue man his wife for his help, & not for his sorrow) do partake in their passions.

Left



Lest the enemies of learning, the enemies of religion should here condemne vs; and for this one defect (being not able to make plaine demonstration of all secrets and hidden qualities) should therefore thinke our knowledge vnprofitable; I would gladly aske, what invention in the world was euer more beneficiall to man, then was the Mariners Carde, to direct him in his passage thorow the huge wilderness of the vaste Ocean? yet can you conceiue, that the world could bee exquisitely diuided by 32. parts (for so many windes are assigned)? shall acres, miles, leagues, whole Countries, huge Nations, make no sensible difference in this Card, and yet is the Carde so exquisite, and of such necessary vse? Or take an Almanacke, though it faile in prognostication of weather, is it therefore not of excellent vse? Learning it is, which opens mans eies to all humane knowledge; though it cannot, or will not vouchsafe to looke vpon the basest things of this life, yet it containes the grounds, the roots, the causes of euery the meanest profession, and is able to direct euery man in his owne Trade, course, and vocation: and I may boldly speake it (*absit inuidia verbo*) all other professions whatsoeuer, if they be not spiced and seasoned with learning, they are base and barbarous; if they bee not sanctified and hallowed with Religion, they are prophane and heathenish.

I haue forgotten my selfe, and whether out of the loue of Philosophie, or out of mine owne modestie, desiring to conceale these points of secrecie (the paines and labours in child-birth), I am fallen into this discourse? I will now againe retire my selfe, and I will instance in the two sexes. This punishment was not only inflicted on the woman in the time of her trauaile, but it is further extended, and generally comprehends all the diseases and griefes of the wombe; so that the maid

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A defence of  
Philosophie.

The strange  
diseases of the  
wombe.



and the widow shall not freely escape; for infinite are the diseases, and those strange and wonderfull, beyond the common course of nature, which the wombe of a woman doth make her subject vnto; what strange pangs, and conuulsions doth it suffer, as if it had no stable foundation in the bodie? such rising, such falling, sometimes prouoked with a feir, so strange and miraculous to nature, that the ignorant sort (not considering the naturall causes) crie, A possession, a possession; then straight some poore old woman is had in suspition, brought before a Iustice, accused for a Witch, &c. whereas in all other creatures, the wombe doth no way offend, or annoy them; for then certainly it would appeare in their cries, their groanes, their complaints, their feeding, their thriuing in flesh, something at length would easily discouer it, but indeede there is none. I would I could say as much for the woman; but alas, here are too many, I cannot reckon all, some shall appeare, and those I will conceale in the habit of an vnknowne tongue; *Phlegmone, abscessus, vlcus, cancer, scirrhus, mola, inflatio, hydrops, calculus, rhagades, condylomata, hamorrhoides*: Will you see the symptomes, signes and proper passions; *mensium suppressio, mensium profluvium atque stillicidium, albus fluor uterinus, gonorrhoea duplex, uteri strangu'atus, ascensus, descensus, prolapsio, conuulsio sterilitas, abortus, &c.* To conclude, the Physitian, as well as the Clergie man, is sometimes tied to his secrecie and silence.

The diseases  
of the paps.

Yet giue me leaue to instance in those parts, which appeare to the sight. The sweete paps, which serue to allure the husband, and to put the children in minde of their dutie; how apt are they to bee tormented with grieve? being spongiouse parts, some ill humours settle there, and the softnes is turned to a stonie hardnes, the fresh and beautifull colour, is changed to palenesse and wannesse;



wannesse; in stead of sweete and delicious milke, the filth breakes out into issues and sores; and therein assures man, that he is not onely conceiued in sinne, and corruption, but likewise feedes vpon corruption: for what is milke it selfe, but onely impure blood, the colour changed? Now if these parts, which border so neere vpon the heart, be corrupted; then assuredly the heart it selfe is full of corruption, the roote of life, and nature her selfe is wholly corrupted: and therefore those parts, which were ordained for the nourishment of poore sucking babes, together with life, together with foode for the continuance of life, doe by a law of necessitie, impart their owne corruption.

For the males, they are not excused from the like sorrow; what strange and noysome diseases doe befall the generative parts? *lues venerea, priapismus, gonorrhoea*; I am ashamed of my selfe, and me thinkes my mouth is defiled with speaking of them: onely giue me leaue to reckon vp one among the miseries proper to this time, among the inuentions and monsters of this last age, for the ancients neuer heard of it. There is a disease begotten amongst vs, and no nation will father it, all are ashamed of it; we cast it on the French, the French on the Italian, the Italian on the Spaniard, the Spaniard on the Indian, as if it were some excellent treasure, brought from a new-found world; a disease which riseth from immoderate lust; noysome, infectious, corrupting the bones, rotting the flesh, loosing and dissolving the ligaments. A iust punishment for mans lust, that since beautie allured him, & his own natural strength provoked him, therefore God wil punish him with the losse of his beautie, his fauour shall faile him, his eye-sight shall leaue him, his colour forsake him, his nose shall drop off, his lips shall be eaten, his palate shall be cankerd, and his strength shall be like a broken staffe; he shall goe

The French or  
Neapolitan  
disease.



like a crippe, shame and reproch shall attend him. Fully to describe this disease, I will leaue it to the skilfull Phyfitian; let it suffice for me to obserue, that although some other creatures seeme to be as much inclining to their lust, as is man; yet none are tainted with such a noysome disease, saue only man: as likewise in all former times, among the Heathen and Pagans, there is no mention of any such disease, much lesse of the cure; only amongst vs Christians, who professe a more strict, austere and mortified life, this disease first tooke her beginning. That seeing God had giue vs a greater knowledge of his truth, of the foulness of sinne, together with a larger measure of his grace; therefore God punisheth the vncleannes & incontinencie of these times, with a greater iudgement, and vengeance: and as the woman partakes in the mans punishment, both of them sweating in their labours, both of them made subiect to death; so man (as farre forth as it will stand with the condition of his sexe) partakes in her sorrow.

An aduice to  
women.

These things being duly considered, (if I were worthy) I would giue this aduice to Ladies, and Gentlewomen, who now labour in the paines and perill of child-birth; that during this time, they would better bethinke themselves of the occasion; that their danger and sorrow is the iust punishment of sinne, for the first offence of the woman: and that they would giue God most humble and heartie thanks, for that greatest blessing of all other temporall blessings, the fruitfulness of the wombe; whereby it pleaseth God, to inlarge his owne kingdome, to accomplish the whole number of his elect; whereby they might continue their names, and their memories, and finde some comfort in their olde age; leaue their posteritie behinde them, to giue them a Christian buriall, and to performe all other duties of children to parents. This I could heartily wish, but see the



the corruption of these times! they turne this punishment, to a point of their owne pride, vaine-glorie, and solemnitie; their lying-in, or bedding being performed in such state, with such pompe, so excessiue, cost-ly, and chargeable; that I feare they haue little thought either of thankfulness to God, or of the punishment of sinne.

Now giue me leaue to relate some few accidencies, which doe accompanie our conception, whereof I may speake without offence: Consider (I pray) how during the time of their conception, while our parents are yet great, what a longing and hungrie appetite possesseth them of things hard to be gotten, most commonly vntimely and vnseasonable fruites, sometimes of things vn-cleane and impure. Is not this an vndoubted token and testimonie of that insolent, and vnbridled appetite of the woman, which first contrarie to Gods owne precept and ordinance, seized vpon the forbidden fruit? But obserue (I beseech you) how this appetite and longing, consisting onely in the fantasie and imagination of the mother, yet sometimes, to the great wonder, and astonishment of reason, workes vpon the childe in the wombe, and makes an impression answerable to the thing conceiued in the fantasie: the fantasie can neither giue sexe, nor beautie, nor strength to the members, yet doth it imprint a character answerable to the strong apprehension. See heere a liuely patterne of the propagation of sinne; there are hereditarie diseases of the bodie, there are wants and defects proper to the minde, there are infirmities and sins of both: sin is intailed to our nature, though it proceed from the free-will and consent of man, yet is it grounded in nature, and therefore all the naturall actions of man, are branded with sinne.

In the time of their deliuerie, I haue heard it credibly reported, and so I may affirme it vpon tradition, that

Womens  
longing.

An impression  
vpon the child  
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longing.

An impression  
vpon the child  
in the wombe.



The skinne of  
a Serpent.

nothing so much asswageth their paine, and giues them that ease, as the cast-away skinne of a Serpent, being fitly applied for that purpose: I will not dispute of the naturall reason, which assuredly consists in the strange antipathie betweene both; only I do here blesse God, that hath so ordained nature, as it might best serue for a supernaturall end; when all naturall meanes shall faile, and cannot preuent a naturall grieffe, yet the remembrance and thought of the Serpent, which was the first occasion of this grieffe, should mitigate this paine. Here is a kinde of magicall inchauntment, to heale wounds by the application of that sword which first gaue the blow; like the Israelites in the wilderness wounded by the Serpent, they are likewise cured by the brasen Serpent. It serues also as a memoriall of Gods great bountie and goodnesse, that if God in this miraculous manner by changing the skinne, renewes the age of the Serpent; then certainly man in his issue, hath some kinde of eternitie, for the young childe seemes to renew the age of his parents. And the poore mother calling to minde Gods mercie to the Serpent, who was the first seducer and greatest offender, may well hope for a greater measure of that mercie; and in her greatest torments and grieffe, acknowledging the iust punishment of sin, may expect a better state and condition, when God shall renew al things, change their old habits, and restore them to their first perfection. Thus are the present miseries of this life, seasoned with the assured hope, and expectation of a better world to succeed.

Observations  
in the birth of  
man.

I cannot thus leaue the punishment in the mother, but I must likewise trace it in the infant. Comming into the world, wee come with our heads forwards, as it were stumbling into life, which vndoubtedly argues our fall, for our birth is *precipitium*, a break-neck, as if we were cast headlong downe from some mount. Being  
thus

Ratio  
qua  
Simile  
Simile  
Angus  
raliza  
Scorpi  
Celi



thus borne, wee carrie the image and representation rather of flaine men, then of men beginning to liue; such effusion of blood, such vncleannesse, as could not possibly stand with the integritie of our first nature, as if wee were borne vnder that law & condition, that needs we must dye, and therefore wee came into the world that indeede we might goe out of the world. Many are borne with caules on their faces, which betokens their modestie and shame, as if *Adam* should couer his nakednesse with leaues: here wee are fast bound vp with swadling-cloutes, for wee are captiues and prisoners, borne vnder the slauerie and bondage of Egypt, and for a time wee can doe nothing but crie, to moue pitie and compassion: all our rest consists in motion, wee sleepe while the cradle is rockt, and so in the succeeding course of our liues, wee seeme to flatter our selues, with ease and securitie, when as indeede all things are in an vpror.

At length wee begin to open our eyes, and to looke about vs, and here we wonder and admire all things, as being strangers arriued in a new-found world; we are apt to place our loue on euery obiect, and cannot direct our selues aright; there is nothing which seemes pleasant to the sight, nor any pretty toy, but straight we must crie for it, it must be ours, we must possesse it, otherwise the whole house shall not bee able to containe vs, no fruite of the garden must be excluded. See heere whether that fruite, which was *gustu suauis, & visu delectabile*, would not againe serue to allure man? Not long after our hearing and speech will serue vs, then wee begin to hearken after old wiues tales, and fables; wee cannot be content with our food, and our raiment, but we must heare some stories of Lions, of Beares, and the like; old women and nurfes (forsooth) they must relate them: Lord, what skilfull teachers wee haue gotten! as

Observations  
in the infancie  
of man.



The curiositie  
of women  
taxed.

if *Adam* were againe to be instructed by *Eve*, and that wee should all learne our lesson, and take aduice from the Serpent; see how this curiositie of knowledge possesseth young children, as much as euer it did y<sup>e</sup> first *Adam*, but more immediatly and especially resides in the womankind: whereas a maide should be mute, she is not afraid to dispute; she should be a cooke for her sexe, she would buy a booke for her sects; in lieu of a mate, she must illuminate; if once she proues gossip, then she proceeds to a Doctorship, and she can be no mistresse, vnlesse she know mysteries. Thus they haue degrees of schooles among them, and therefore may lawfully weare their hoods and their habits: they are not content to follow their seuerall callings and professions, wherein they might serue God, since it was God that ordained them; not content with our ordinary Catechisme, which they in their wisdom call beggerly rudiments, or some, implicite faith; but as if euery part were ordained to bee an eye, and that women should proue teachers in the Church, they begin to enquire of predestination, reprobation, prelection, free-will, the state of innocency, the time of the generall iudgement, &c. Here are excellent wits indeed, that cannot admit any bounds of their knowledge; if there were a tree of knowledge in the middest of Paradise, for the triall of their obedience, you should easily discover in them the same disposition. And hence follow such monsters of opinions, such mishapen conceits, together with such neglect, contempt, and such a base respect of their ordinary Pastor; as that you would not imagine such disobedience, were it not, that the same corruption and curiositie of knowledge did first appeare in the roote, which now buds forth in the branches.

How credulous and easie of beliefe are the young children, as if they were fit subiects to be againe seduced



ced by the serpent? how do they rather incline vnto hate then vnto loue, out of the malignitie and corruption of their owne nature, as it were laying the foundation of that Machiauelian policie, that Friendship is vncertaine, but hate is irreconcilable? see their obstinacy and wilfulnesse, if you forbid them any thing, the more you forbid it, the sooner they will attempt it, *nitimur in vetustum*! see how we follow the footsteps of our forefathers, we neede not be taught this lesson, *aspis à vipera*, disobedience is now become naturall vnto vs! see how these little children will alwayes attempt the most dangerous actions, as clyming vp of ladders, sliding vp on the ice, running ouer bridges, playing with edged tooles, skipping ouer benches! to shewe that the same nature still continues in those little impes, which vnder colour of bouldnes and courage, proues indeed to bee rashe and desperat: suppose them to be weake and faint, not able to vndertake such great exploit; see then (of all other places) how they make choice of the basest! the sinke, the chanell, the chymnie, wallowing in the mire, all daubde on with durt; that were it not to signifie the vncleannesse of mans conception and birth, I should much maruaile at natures intent herein.

See, see these little children, how apt they are to learne all lewdnesse and naughtinesse! if there be but a nicke-name, or a leud song, or some libellous rime, you shall finde them so inquisitiue, so desirous to learne, so retentive of memory, as that you would thinke it wonderfull; whereas in all good learning, there is such a dulnesse, such a backwardnesse, such forgetfulness, as that you would not suppose them to be the same wits. Now the first offence for which our parents correct vs, it is (for the most part) the eating of rawe and vntimely fruits; see how these children do naturally symbolize with their parents! and as of nature, so there is a conformitie of wils;

The corruption  
of yong  
children.

How exceedingly chil-  
dren doe loue  
fruits,



wils; as soone as our strength serues vs, then wee begin to rob orchards, to rife aple-lofts, ceasing vpon forbidden fruits, as if we could not leaue our ould haunt, or that we did claime a bad custome by prescription; but I pray' marke the euent, this eating of fruits ingendreth wormes in their mawe, their stomackes, and bowels, their tender yong bodies become quicke sepulchers, a wombe for the wormes to feed vpon their liuing carkasses; see here the eating of this fruit, giues them the first token and assurance of their mortalitie, *morte morieris*.

But I forget my selfe; vnles I should here stay (I feare) I should againe and againe run through the whole course of his life, neither indeed dare I far proceed in this subiect, for I know what some will say, that bachelors children are euer well taught; giue me therefore leaue retiring far backe, to make the longer leape, from the cradle to the coffin; being fast bound vp with swadling cloutes, I will exchange them for my winding sheet, and so in the last place I come to the last punishment of the first sinne; *morte morieris*, thou shalt die the death, Gen. 3. v. 19. *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eate bread, till thou returne to the earth, for out of it wast thou taken, because thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou returne.* I confesse indeed, I shal incurre a disorderly method, if you consider the course and order of nature, for nature passeth by degrees, *natura non facit saltum*, she takes no leape; but when I consider the necessity of death, together with the casualtie and vncertainty of all other accidents which may befall man (*statutum est hominibus mori*, there is a statute past that al men must die; but peradventure I shall be rich, I shall be poore; peradventure I shall grow ould, I shall be blind; peradventure I shall be lame, I shall be a crible; but without all peradventure I shall die; thus there being a necessity of death, together



together with a great vncertaintie of the time) I do appeale to the strictnesse and rigour of lawe, that if a debt must be discharged and no due time be appointed, then we must prepare for a present payment; so that it cannot seeme much against method, though I speake of death, immediatlie vpon our first receiuing of breath.

If all other creatures were subiect to death, yet (me thinks) obseruing the course and prouidence of nature, man should be exempted from death: consider the high prerogatiue of man; in all restraining and penall lawes, the Prince is excluded, to shew his high estate aboue the ranke and condition of subiects: now man is the king of the creatures, let other creatures bee lyable to slaughter, for they were ordained and directed to man; let other creatures die of themselves, for in them there is nothing but nature, nature which hath a certaine course and period, a time of rising and a time of setting: but the first fountaine of life in man, is the intuisible and immortall soule free from corruption, free from all change and alteration, as in her owne substance, so in her actions; she cannot bee inforced or determinated, but is beyond the Precincts of nature, and therefore no way tyed to follow the ordinary course of nature. Yet some beasts do far exceed man in life and continuance of being, which is the foundation and ground worke of nature, to support all other blessings; and therefore seems to be the highest prerogatiue of nature, wherein notwithstanding man is defectiue: other creatures (indeed) seeme to attaine their perfection in their ends, or their death; the hearbes serue for the food of beasts, and in their bodies and carkases they haue a more excellent being, then they had in their greene blades; the flesh of beasts becomes the nourishment of man, and being made part of mans own flesh, heere is the height of all their preferment; now in man, you shall obserue it far otherwise,

The author  
iustifieth his  
method by  
lawe.

Mans death is  
compared  
with the death  
of dumbe  
beasts.



Mans death  
in respect of  
the elements.

otherwise, who (of the mirror and miracle of nature) by his own death, is suffered to putrifie and to be deuoured of the basest wormes ; as if his body were ordained to be the compost of the earth, and did only serue to make the Church-yard fat with the oyle of his flesh, and to pauer the high wayes with the sculs and bones of dead men.

Consider this inferior world, consisting of the same different and contrary elements, yet still continuing in the same state; assuredly it is no greater difficulty to preserve man from death, then to preserve the whole world from corruption : for the same causes appeare in both, the elements and the elementarie qualities, and once in euery mans age they are equally tempered, as it were the Equinoctial of his age. Then why should there not be a state of consistencie in man, as well as in the whole world ? or at least, why should not the periods and times of his age, the spring of his infancie, the summer of his youth, the haruest of his riper yeares, the winter of his old age, goe and returne according to the reuolution of times, seasons, and changes of the yeere ; which seeme to bee therefore onely allotted, for the continuance and preservation of mankind?

Mans death in  
respect of the  
heauens and  
the Angels.

Not to insist alone in this sublunarie world ; strange it is, that the heauens themselues which were onely ordained for mans vse, should so long continue without change or alteration, and man himselfe in the whole course of his life, should not be able to see a reuolution: that the superiour causes preserving mans life, should moue by a most certaine and vnchangeable rule, as the diuine prouidence hath appointed them ; and yet mans life to which all is ordained, should be most subiect and lyable to the greatest hazard, chance, and vncertainty. But most strange it is, that the heauens being Gods blessed instruments to continue life, quicken sense, stir



vp motion, yet with their malignant and dis-astrous aspects, should cause the overthrow of man, yea sometimes of whole nations and kingdomes: consider the end of mans creation, which was the praise and glory of his maker, which end is eternall, as God himselfe is eternall; then why should not those things, which are ordained only to this end, be of like eternitie and continuance? God is not like man, that he should be altered and changed, that he should repent himselfe of his own workes, and restore againe that vnto nothing, which he himselfe hath once made according to his owne image: neither is God the God of the dead but of the liuing, being life in himselfe; shall the dust rise vp and praise him, shall his iustice appeare in the graue? or rather shall the prayers, the voyces and harmony of men, ioynd with the quire and sweet melody of Angels, sing praises vnto him and magnifie his holy name, which indeed was the scope and end of our creation? thus not onely Christian religion, but euen reason it selfe, and mans owne knowledge seeme to preach this lesson, that the end of nature (man) to whom all nature is ordained and directed, should not end in nature; and therefore death it selfe especially to man, is a punishment of nature, and in it selfe is most vnnaturall to man.

Especially when I consider, how the better part of man (the soule) is immortal and vnchangeable; as in her selfe and in her owne substance, so in her qualities and actions: now the life of man, being only the worke of his soule, and the sweet influence of his quickning spirit, into the dull flesh; I do much maruaile, how this immortal spirit should bee the cause of our mortality? for it cannot bee denied, but that the soule receiues some kinde of perfection from the flesh; for without the ministry of the body, were not our members the soules vessels and instruments, she could neuer exercise

The soule receiues a kinde of perfection from the body.



cise those excellent powers of sense and vegetation; & therefore in her separation, though her state may seeme to be more perfect then it was, during the time of her marriage, or couerture with our flesh, our corrupted flesh, wherein iars and contentions did daily arise to the great disquieting of both; yet certainly the soule hauing these faculties, desires the free vse and exercise of them. Which desire, that it might not be frustrat and vaine, doth in some sort (by a naturall sequell) inforce a last resurrection; when the soule shall be re-united to a spirituall body better besitting it selfe: and in the interim concludes, that either man is vnnaturally compounded, or that the separation of his parts, must be wholly vnnaturall, which I rather suppose; seeing it makes much for mans dignitie and natures perfection, the soule no way desiring a separation; for as the state now stands, there is a kinde of correspondencie, if the flesh be corrupted, the soule is likewise tainted with sinne; here is a proportion, though an euill proportion between both.

The soule  
builds the  
frame of our  
body.

The soule desiring the continuance of this vnion, why should she not be able to effect it; she frames and fashions in the wombe, all the members of mans body for her owne vse and seruice, *anima fabricatur sibi domicilium*: though Gods power appeares in our making, yet God vseth meanes, and these meanes can bee none other, then the actions of the soule it selfe; a baser agent God would neuer imploy in such an excellent worke, and a greater worke-man all nature could not afford him. Now the soule hauing thus framed the body, if she dislikes any thing, she must blame none but her selfe; if all things be perfect and sound in the first fabricke and architecture of man, then in the succeeding actions of life, the soule is the first fountaine, and the onely actiue principle of all severall operations: for I receiue my temper,

Soul of y body idest Sol Corporis: y Jun of y body  
Sol ex seipso solus lucens et se omni nature imperans: Cor  
primu punctu: Author sapientie: lux primu Dei Labor:



per, my constitution, my colour, my digestion, my nourishment, my strength, my growth, and all from my soule. If there be an error or fault, I must blame and cast the aspersions vpon my soule; that notwithstanding her owne eternity; yet she should lead me to the paths of mortality: for herein I dare bouldly excuse mine owne flesh, my flesh is innocent, if not of my sinne yet of my bloud; and the soule is the sole murtherer, for the body is onely subiect to passion, as it please the soule to worke, so it must suffer: as the soule receiues the praise and commendation in the goodnesse of her actions; so let her take vnto her selfe, the shame and reproch in the defects and imperfections.

Though there may be (I confesse) some little difference in the appetites and inclinations of both, proceeding from the different natures; yet is there no opposition betweene both, in regard of destroying qualities, both of them being substances of a diuers kinde, not capable of contrariety; and therefore a wonder it is, how they should be ioyned together, or being once coupled how they should be set a sunder. Can the soule first build this goodly tabernacle of our bodies, and can she not repaire and renew the workmanship decayed? seemes it not a worke of lesse difficulty to repaire then to lay the first foundation? Can she bring forth a seede to propagate her owne kinde, and so giue life vnto others, yet cannot preserue her owne life? is she so prodigall of her best substance and treasure, that imparting it to others, she leaues her selfe destitute? or how fals it out contrary to the course and streame of nature, that the better part of man being priuiledged, and hauing a charter for eternities, yet man himselfe should see and taste corruption? as if the whole did not include the parts, or that there were a different condition of the whole from the parts, contrary to the whole course of nature, and the

The immortal  
soule is the  
cause of cor-  
ruption.



How easily the  
soule may pre-  
serue life by  
a naturall  
course.

the wisdom of her first institution.

Suppose the soule should be defective in her actions; as that for want of a full and perfect concoction, the stomake should be filled vp with rawe humors, which at length should seaze vpon the liuer, and there breake forth like a spring or a fountaine, and so bee conuayed in the conduit-pipes of our veines, thorough the trunke of the whole body; yet cannot the soule instantly recall her selfe, and correct her owne error? cannot heate bee allayed with coldnesse, moysture with drought, and euery distemper be cured with the application of his contrarie? I cannot conceaue the reasonable soule to be a foole, and therefore needs she must be a Physitian; you will say that there is a great difficulty in the receiptes, and therefore the life of man would hardly suffice to learne the remedy and cure: but I pray mark the art and industrie of man, I am verily perswaded, and I speake it by experience, that mans body, by the helpe of seare-clothes, powders, balmes, and oyntments, may bee preserued for the space of two hundred or three hundred yeeres, in the same state and consistencie wherein now it is, at least to the outward shew and appearance; then why should not the like medicines inwardly taken, preserue life for such a terme of yeeres? why should not physicke growe to that ripenesse and perfection, that knowing the nature of diseases, the course & inclinatio of humors, by application of contraries, as it were vsing the tree of life in Paradise, it might prolong mans age, if not for euer giue him eternitie? But see, see corruption consists in the root, in nature her selfe! for physicke cannot worke, but must first presuppose the strength and furtherance of nature: lest thou shouldest blame the Physitian, or thinke the meanes which God hath appointed for thy health, to be wholly vnprofitable; behold thine owne nature is wanting



ting and defectiue to her selfe.

If nature might faile in her particular ends, yet (me thinks) the whole scope and generall intent of nature should not bee frustrate and made voide. There is nothing so common and triniall in Schooles (wherein nature is best discouered, as is this knowne and palpable truth) *Corruptio vnius est generatio alterius*, the death of one is the birth of another, for nature consists in alteration and change; and it would much disparage nature, if there were such a death, as did wholly make for her losse, and no way redound to her encrease. In all other creatures you shal obserue this truth: Suppose a beast were slaine, his body should be dissolued into the bodies of the elements, his forme into the formes of the elements, as both of them were first composed of the elements, nothing should bee lost through the negligence of nature, but all should be gleaned vp, and very safely reserued for a new succeeding generation. Now in the death of man, the body is the sole bootie of nature, she cannot seaze vpon the soule, she cannot retaine such an inestimable treasure, the soule is escaped: as long as life continued in man, the soule was vnder the iurisdiction and power of nature; but the body being once dissolued, nature hath lost her owne right, and cannot intend any new generation by vertue of that soule. A foule error of nature, that hauing the soule once committed to her custodie and charge, she should open the gates, or breake downe the prison walles to lose such a iewell, which was neuer gotten by her owne purchase, nor cannot bee recalled againe with all her might and power: so then in the death of man, and of man alone, the corruption, and nothing but the corruption of nature sufficiently appeares.

I would not willingly speak of a punishment, where-  
in the mercie and goodnesse of God should not toge-

Z

ther

How the death  
of man is a-  
gainst the  
whole scope of  
nature in ge-  
nerall.



How death  
serues to in-  
struct vs.

Death is a very  
powerfull  
meanes to re-  
call a sinner.

ther appeare with his iustice : but when I haue once spoken of death, me thinkes I am then come to the vpshot and conclusion of all, beyond which I cannot extend any blessing, I meane any naturall blessing, for death is the end and period of nature; yet giue me leaue to make these foure good vses of death: 1. To reprove sinnes: 2. To strengthen and fortifie the bulwarkes of Religion. 3. As to giue comfort, courage, and resolution to the true Christian man; 4. so to discomfort, discourage and put to flight the infidell and heathen.

First, death seemes to instruct man, to preach vnto him the reformation of his life, and thereby doth witness his naturall and inbred corruption: the couetous man, whose heart could neuer be touched, or moued to take pitie or compassion by the cries and prayers of a poore wretch, yet at length will howle and lament, when hee considers that hee shall dye in the midst of his treasure, and all his substance shall leaue him: the oppressing tyrant, stained with the blood of poore innocents, shall knocke his owne breast, teare his owne haire, readie to shed his owne blood, when hee sees the pale and liuelesse carcase of his persecuted foe, to shew him his owne state, and condition, and being dead, to threaten his death: but it were to be wished (if it might be spoken without offence) that one might arise from the dead, who might relate vnto vs the state of the dead, and of the vanities of this life, which passe like a shadow. And to this end, I haue heard it as a tradition of the Church, that Christ hauing told the parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, and the Iewes little regarding it (to stirre vp faith in them, as likewise in some sort to satisfie the request of *Dives*, that one from the dead might instruct his brethren), God raised vp *Lazarus*, the brother of *Mary Magdalen*, who might witnesse and testifie as much as Christ had reported: I will not stand vpon the  
truth



truth of this tradition; though certaine it is, that both these accidents fell out much about the same time. The very bones of the dead, being serued vp at a banquet, will bee a fit sauce to season our immoderate mirth: the tombes of the dead are for the instruction of the living, *monumenta monent mentem*, we tread vpon the flesh of our forefathers, which is now become the dust of the Temple. Death is an excellent meanes to stirre vp pietie, and deuotion: the mariners in guiding their ships, must sit in the end, to hold and gouerne the stearne; and the end of euery thing, is the first in intension, though the last in execution. Hence it is, that the religious persons in all ages, were *frequentes in cemiterijs*, alwaies busily imploied about the tombes of the dead: their cloysters of recreation were places of burials for their meditation; if they found themselues giuen to immoderate ioy, their delight was abated with the sight & smell of dead bones. Thus living they were dead, their mind was among the dead, they conuersed with the dead: and thus the meditation of death, did prescribe vnto them (answerable to a vale of miserie, befitting a sinfull state) a course of life in mortification and sorrow.

O death, which doest astonish man with thy sight, how fearefull is thy blow! when wee shall goe and neuer returne, or recouer our owne strength; *Soles occidere & redire possunt, at nobis nox perpetua dormienda est*. O death, which in this last age of the world, (wherein sinne and iniquitie doe abound, and religion seemes to haue taken vp wings, and euery where to bee put to flight, and indeede to haue gone vp to heauen, from whence she descended) yet death stands like a stoute champion to fight in defence of religion; death stands at the backe of religion, assuring vs that there must bee an end of this sinful state, and of these worldly vanities, and death is this end, assuring vs, that there must be a

Death fights  
in defence of  
religion.



time for the manifestation of Gods iustice, and death seemes to summon vs, to appeare at his iudgement seat; assuring vs, that there is another world to succcede, and death is the passage to that other world: for otherwise in vaine should wee preach the mercie of God, together with his promises; in vaine should we teach the law of nature, the instinct of nature, the moral precepts, the mysteries of grace, the maiestie of God; in vaine should wee preach humilitie, to sustaine iniuries with patience, to forgiue all offences, to make restitution for wrongs; in vaine should wee perswade men, to spend whole nights in watchings, fastings, and prayers, to repent in sackcloth and ashes: alas, alas, these are all vnprofitable lessons to the worldlings, let vs therefore leauing the force of Church discipline, Ecclesiasticall censures, Excommunications, &c. let vs implore *brachium seculare*, the helpe of the temporall power to restraine sinne. Remember thine owne death, remember thine owne death; if thou wilt not forsake the world, the world shall at length forsake thee; here is our last refuge, to serue at a dead list, for the conuersion of a sinner; here is no faith of things inuisible, here are no strict rules of mortification, here are no precepts, which seeme to oppose the practise of mans naturall inclination: but consider the state of thine owne body, and the degrees of thine age, how thou doest daily decline, and learne to dye by the daily precedent, experience, and example of others: *Fili mi memorare nouissima & in aeternum non peribis*; My sonne, remember thy last end, and thou shalt neuer perish euerlastingly.

The Christian  
man desires  
death as the  
meanes of his  
happinesse.

As it serues for a meanes of our conuersion, so is it no lesse cause of great ioy and comfort to a well resolved Christian; *Cupio dissolui, & esse cum Christo*: Life is the only hinderance of our coupling with Christ; this old house must first bee taken downe, before the new building



ding can be erected : now death serues as a bridge or a passage to a better life ; it is a holie relique, which first seized vpon Christs bodie, and at length shall befall vs ; we must dye with him, that wee may raigne with him ; where the head hath already entred, the whole bodie must follow. But here is our comfort, hee that stood in the forefront, hath now abated the strength of our aduersarie ; he that sanctified all other creatures, the earth with his blood, the ayre purified with his breath, the water washt with his washing, the fire purged with his spirit in fierie tongues, he hath likewise sanctified death it selfe by his owne death. Death is now made a safe harbour vnto vs, which before was the terrour of nature : for as it was truly prophecied of Christ, so is it verified in the members of Christ, *He shall not leaue his soule in hell, nor suffer his holy one to see corruption.* Thus is death now become the sole sacrifice of a Christian man, a free oblation at Gods altar, wherein whole man is bequeathed vnto God ; wee commit our soules to his safe custodie and keeping, wee leaue our bodies to be the dust of his Temple : all our goods we dispose as he shall direct vs, some by the course of nature, which hee himselfe hath appointed ; some to pious and religious vses, which hee himselfe hath commanded ; some to almes-deedes and charitable beneuolence, according to that natural compassionate instinct, which God hath imprinted in our hearts, and as the present necessitie of these times seemes to require : and what is so left, wee leaue it not behind vs, but it followes vs, and ouertakes vs at heauen gates. And thus is man become a whole burnt offering vnto God, and that by the meanes of his death : and therefore we may now securely triumph ouer death, *O death where is thy sting ! O hell where is thy victorie ! the sting of death is sinne, the strength of sinne is the law : but thanks be vnto God who hath giuen vs vi-*

Death is the  
sacrifice of our  
selues.



Death is our  
comfort in all  
our worldly  
miseries.

Death giues  
the Christian  
man an excel-  
lent resolutiō.

*etorie, through our Lord Iesus Christ.*

Death is the sole comfort in all my worldly miseries, for it seemes to be the vpsnot and period of my woe: which if I shal once attaine (as needs I must attaine), then shall I be like the sea faring man, who being arriued in the Hauen, hath safely escaped the troublesome waues of this turbulent world; the assurance and expectation whereof, doth inable me with patience, and fortitude. For what can befall me? Suppose losse of senses, losse of limbes, losse of substance, losse of honour; yet one thing remaines, *I shall dye, I shall dye; here is my comfort, for here is the end of my woe.* What if the bloodie Tyrant shall sport himselfe, in the shedding of my innocent blood? what if the great states-man shall pick out some flawes, and finde out some nice errors in my estate, and thereby vnder the faire shew of concealements, shall make me a bootie? *Sentiat hoc, moriar, mors ultima linea rerum.* My life is a pilgrimage, the quicker my expedition is, I shall sustaine the lesse sorrow. Now this contempt of death, giues the true Christian man such an excellent spirit, such a braue courage and resolution, as that indeede he proues the only good souldier; thou maiest repose confidence in him, for he will neuer reuolt, or forsake a iust cause; in his attempts thou shalt finde him valiant aboue measure, for this resolution of death is his armour of prooffe, for conquer hee will, and conquer he must, though with his owne passion; fearefull and terrible hee is to his enemies, for hee that regards not his owne life, is Lord of another mans life. Whereas the worldling, who hath placed all his happinesse here in the course of this life, is indeed a base coward, fearefull, vnfaithfull, performing his seruice onely to the outward shew, carrying a heart full of infidelitic; vpon all fit occasions he is ready to reuolt, and dares vndertake nothing for feare of his death, which



which hee holds for his greatest woe.

Thus I haue proportioned the seuerall punishments of the first sinne, to the tenne plagues of Egypt: I haue contracted them to the number of tenne, though further happily I could haue extended them; were it not that I desire to speake al things, according to some rule and proportion. But now I call to minde, the last punishment in Egypt was, *mors primogeniti*, the death of their first begotten; and this hath likewise some reference to the last punishment of sinne, *mors primogeniti*, the death of the soule, which is the first begotten in man: and Scripture doth intimate as much in effect, for this very phrase, *morte morieris*, thou shalt dye the death, might seeme to include a needlesse repetition, or tautologie; were there not a first death, and a second death, and both of them brused, brayed and beaten together in this one mortar, *morte morieris*, thou shalt dye the death. Which words sound to my eares, as if they did intimate the truth of a double death, both proposed to man, and man himselfe made subiect and liable to both; yet the necessitie seemes to be imposed, only for one. The first iudgment hath relation to the first death, *thou shalt dye the death*: if you tell me of the Hebrew phrase, and the manner of their speech, then I doe much more magnifie God, who hath so ordained the tongues and languages of men, to expresse such a mysterie.

If you please to consider the circumstances and forerunners of the last and generall iudgement, they cannot but greatly astonish man: when the world shall now be growne to that old age, as that her sight shall begin to faile her; or sicke of a dangerous and desperate disease, vndoubtedly approching to death, her light shall be put out, (which was the first token and signe of life, and therefore was created in the first place), when the Sunne and the Moone shall be darkened; and in this

The first and  
second death.

The fearefull  
circumstances  
of the last  
iudgement.



darknesse, as if nature were poysoned with mans sinne, not any part thereof shall be able to performe her owne office and dutie, but all shall stand in an vprore, the heauens with the elements, the elements with the heauens, and all together confounded. Luk. 21. vers. 25. *Then there shall be signes in the Sunne, and in the Moone, and in the Starres, and upon the earth trouble among the nations with perplexitie, the Sea and the waters shall roare, &c.* These things might seeme strange and terrible to the carnall man, but here is the least part of his terrour; for when hee shall see the wrath of God hanging ouer his head, hell opened beneath him, damnation before him, his persecuting foes behind him, on his right hand the whole number of his sinnes accusing him, on the left hand all the creatures witnessing against him, within him nothing but feare, tormenting himselfe with the sting of his owne conscience, without him nothing but torture, and the crie of his owne sinnes, together with Gods iustice calling for vengeance: *O what a fearefull thing it is to fall into the hands of the euer liuing God!* When as al the plagues of Egypt, which certainly were strange and wonderfull; yet by the confession of the Egyptians, and by the testimonie of Scripture it selfe, were onely wrought by the finger of God, *digitus dei hic est*: alas what proportion is there betweene the whole hand, and the little finger. But shall I tell you how to auoide the hands of this euerliuing God; then let vs first fall into the hands of a dead God, *amor meus crucifixus est, Christus meus crucifixus est*: his blood is shed, and therefore he will not require our blood; he is weakened, and cannot hurt; his hands are nailed, and cannot strike, he is not fit to punish, but to commiserate; here wee may safely approch without feare, and vnder the shadow of his wings we shall finde protection. Hebr. 4. vers. 15. 16. *Wee haue not an high Priest*

How wee  
should preuent  
Gods wrath.



*Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all things tempted in like sort, yet without sinne: let vs therefore goe boldly vnto the throne of grace, that we may receiue mercie, and finde grace to helpe vs in this time of our necessitie.*

Let vs call to minde, what effects the preuision and premeditation of this last and great iudgement, hath wrought vpon the dearest Saints of God: the righteous *Iob* can testifie in the 21. Chapter; *What shall I doe? how shall I escape, when God shall come vnto iudgement?* The beloued Disciple, though otherwise he had leaned vpon the bosome of Christ; yet seeing Christ comming in iudgement, *he fell downe vnder his feete*, *Apocal. 1. S. Ierome* sets vp a stage, and makes a liuely representation of this iudgement, supposing himselfe alwaies to heare the noyse of the trumpet sounding in his eares, *Surgite mortui, venite ad iudiciũ: Arise ye dead, come vnto iudgement.* *S. Basil* lets foorth this iudgement, in place of a schoole-master to teach vs our selues, and our owne wretched condition. *S. Chrysostome* makes it a bridle to keepe vs from sinne, within the lists of obedience. *Cyprian* makes it a remembrancer of sinne, for our repentance. *Va peccatis meis, cum monti dicturus sum, &c.* *Woe be vnto my sinnes, when I shall say to the mountaines, couer me; and to the deepe waters, hide and conceale me; to the earth, swallow and ouerwhelme me, that I may find some refuge in the day of Gods wrath.* Whither shall I goe from Gods presence? if I flie vp to heauen, hee is there; if I goe downe into hell, he is there also; if I take vp the wings of a Doue, and flie to the vttermost parts of the earth, even there also shall his power follow me, and his iustice pursue mee: whither shall I flie from Gods presence? I will flie from God to God, from the tribunall of his iustice, to the seate of his mercie; here is my appeale, *Call to remembrance, O Lord, thy tender mercie*

What effects  
the meditation  
of the last  
iudgement hath  
wrought vpon  
many.



*mercie and thy louing kindnesse, which haue been euer of old: O remember not the sinnes and offences of my youth, but according to thy mercie, thinke thou vpon me, O Lord, for thy goodnesse.*

Thus much for the expectation: but I dare not proceede to the tortures and torments of hell; *S. Austine* excuseth himselfe, in speaking of that subiect, and for my selfe, I am afraid to thinke of them: and therefore I pray' beare with me, if I follow *S. Austins* example, I had rather sound forth the trumpets of Gods mercie, then poure downe the viols of his wrath: God preuent that in mercie, which otherwise in iustice he might and should inflict vpon vs. If I should enter into this subiect, I know not how I might disquiet, and perplexe the thoughts and consciences of sinners, *quorum ego sum maximus*, of whom I am the chiefest and the greatest sinner: But here is my comfort, the merits of *Christ*, the ransome and price of my redemption is infinit; and doe as farre exceede the number and weight of my sinnes, as the goodnesse and power of God exceeds my weaknesse and frailtie: the mercie of God is infinite, able to couer the whole multitude of my sinnes; the hate of God vnto sinne is infinite, and therefore he will leaue nothing vnattempted, which may serue to cut downe the body of sinne: the desire which God hath of my saluation, farre exceeds mine owne desire of saluation; seeing his glorie and the manifestation of his mercie, (which was the scope and end of my creation) is a farre greater good, then my particular soules health. The greater my sins are, the greater occasion may God take to manifest his mercie, for God himselfe hath appointed my saluation, not to consist in not sinning, or to be free and innocent from all sinnes; but in the repentance for sinne, and in the satisfaction of his deare Sonne: and therefore to assure mee of this mercie, it is one

The author comforteth himselfe against the feare of damnation.



one of the Articles of my Creed (which not to beleue were not to be saued), that I should bouldlie and confidently beleue *the remission and forgiveness of sins*. Yet conceiue me aright, for some there are who laying hold to soone on Gods mercy, as it were snatching at his mercy, do indeed loose the fruits of his mercy; when (laying the whole burthen of their sins vpon Christ, as it were making long and deepe furrowes in his backe) themselues continuing in their owne finnes, in the impenitency and hardnesse of their owne hearts, do indeed dreame of saluation.

My finnes are innumerable, yet before I was borne, before they could be committed, God did foresee them; notwithstanding his foresight, when hee might haue preuented my finnes, and left me to my first nothing, yet in his gracious goodnes and mercie, hee made and created me: he hath giuen me my life, my strength, my health, my senses, my wit, and al my temporall blessings, together with the knowledge of himselfe, the plentifull and powerful meanes of my saluation; notwithstanding my finnes, be they neuer so great, yet these are the tokens of his fauour, the pledges of his loue, the assurances of his promises, and the earnest of my future happines. Why should I then despaire of Gods mercy? though I haue lost that sanctitie and holinesse, wherewith I might be saued, yet God hath not lost that vertue and powe, wherewith he might saue a penitent sinner; and behold the fruit of this power, if I do but speake or name God, it is God that speakes in my heart, *ipse praesens facit se queri*, I had thought I had lost him, but behold he is present, and inuites me to a banquet, where he himselfe is the feast, *conuiuia & conuiuium*: Lord I am not worthy with the dogs, to licke up the crummes under thy table; yet giue me O Lord that property of dogs, that licking mine owne woundes, I might heale mine owne sores,

Antidotes against desperation.



sores, that my tongue may serue to cleanse my uncleannes; confessing my sinnes, I may disgorge and cast out my sins, where they shall lie as a heauie burthen vpon thy sonne, for he hath taken vp my sinnes, and borne mine iniquities; my sinnes are no longer mine, *Mea sunt per perpetrationem, Christi sunt, quoad obligationē satisfactionis*: indeed I committed them, and so they are mine, but Christ alone hath entred into bands for the discharge of them; he hath canceled the hand writing of the lawe, he hath satisfied the rigour of thy iustice, by the shedding of his blood, by his death and passion; and therefore O Lord, thou wilt not demand a second payment of vs; he hath imputed his righteousnesse to vs, and thus euery true penitent, stands *rectus in curia*, acquitted in thy consistory.

A transition  
from the death  
of man, to the  
death of the  
whole world.

Giue me leaue to compare my selfe, that am the meane-  
nest of all men, to *Alexander* the great; and this my  
present treatise, wherein I labour to shew the fall and  
corruption of man, to the conquest of nature; me thinks  
I haue subdued the little world, and brought man as a  
captiue or slue, through much misery and sorrow, at  
length to the place of his execution; and hauing now  
possest my selfe of the fairest fortresse, or tower in na-  
ture (man that is a little world), I cannot here content  
my selfe, but I begin to enquire, whether there are as  
yet more worlds to be conquered? and behold in the  
second place, I will fall vpon the great world, and I  
will attempt with *Archimedes*, to shake her foundati-  
ons, to threaten her ruine, in this generall corruption  
and dissolution of man: for this punishment (*morte mo-  
rieris*) though it principally concernes man, yet the  
whole world cannot be exempted from it, being dire-  
cted and ordained onely for mans vse, containing in it  
selfe the very same seedes, and causes of death and de-  
struction; and as it is most fit and agreeable to our pre-  
sent condition, that being corruptible in our selues, we  
should



should likewise dwell in houses of corruption.

For prooffe and demonstration wherof, I must ascend from the individuals and singulars, to the species and kindes of the creatures; and among all other kindes, assuredly man is the most noble, and therefore best deserves to be the subject of our knowledge: wee should be best acquainted with our selues, which makes for the certainty of our knowledge; and speaking of things which so neerely concerns our selues, we should much desire to bee better informed, in our owne state and condition: now if the whole kinde and species of man seemes daily to decline and decay, which shall appeare by the comparison of times past with times present; of our selues, with our ancestors; then assuredly the whole world cannot be excused from corruption; but as it dies daily in the singulars, so at length it shall faile in the vniuersals, and in the kindes of the creatures.

This truth seemes to relie vpon these three foundations: 1. Man (as all other creatures) being immediatlie created by God, as he comes nearer and nearer the first mould, so is he more and more perfect, and according to the degrees of his distance, so he incurreth the more imperfection and weakenesse; as the streames of a fountaine, the further they runne through vncleane passages, the more they contract the corruption. 2. It would implicate a contradiction in nature, if the parts and the whole were not of like condition; but how wonderfull is the difference, if you will suppose a corruption of the singulars, and an eternitie of the kinde? for whereas the recompence shuld be made by succession or equivalencie, we must consider, that succession may well prolong the corruption, adding more degrees, proceeding more leasurely, but cannot wholie exclude the corruption. 3. The generall intent and scope of nature wholie tends to corruption; for I would gladly aske, why should  
not

The kinds and species of creatures do decay.

Three reasons why all the creatures doe decline.



not nature, either renew mans age, or preserve him in a state of consistencie? the answer is, because the iuyce and sap which we receive from our food, or our nourishment, is not so agreeable to the state of our bodies, as is that humor, & *calor radicalis*, which wee receive from our first birth; heere I will reply, how fals it out, that our bodies should impart *semen ad procreandum*, wherein that radical humor is resident? and (both seede and humor arising from our food and our nourishment) yet nature should seeme in the preservation of our bodies, to refuse the best, making it an excrement of the third concoction, and taking for her owne foode and sustenance, the worst part of the substance. See then, the generall intent and scope of nature tending to corruption, must likewise argue that nature her selfe in generall, shall at length be tainted with the same corruption.

First for the apparell of the Ancients, if you please to observe the fashion of their garments, you shall finde them to be such, as (no way inforcing nature, nor made onely for comlineesse) they might best serve for the exercise of the agilitie of their bodies: which well argues a greater actiuitie in them then in vs, though I suppose they would not suffer any, to practise for danger, much lesse to get a dishonest living, by vaulting, tumbling, or any such apish toyes; yet generally they were more active, and had lesse vse of horses, then we haue in these dayes. For the substance of their garments, our clothing is much more gentle, and soft then theirs, for they had not that vse of linnen which we haue; which well argues the weaknes and tendernes of our flesh, in respect of theirs; their garments being courser, were likewise much weightier and heavier then ours, which betokens the strong foundation of their bodies, for in these dayes wee could hardly indure their burthen or weight; it should

The clothing  
and apparell of  
the Ancients  
compared with  
ours.

this is the  
manner of  
their  
garments

God send us all for our  
manner of  
garments



should seeme, they did accustome themselves to much hardnesse, for amongst the common sort of men, stockings and shooes were not then grown into fashion: indeed for the trunke or bulke of their bodies, they were more warmly clothed then wee are, as committing themselves more to the weather; and as the heate of a mans owne body, being kept in with warme clothes, is much more naturall, more healthfull and cordiall to man, then is the burning, scorching and consuming heate of the fire; therefore the Ancients did more desire warme clothes and apparell, then the vse of fire; for among them you shall finde little preparation for fire, their houses built with very fewe chymnies, they were very sparing and thriftie in their woods, their chambers very close and warme, desiring rather to keepe out the cold winde, then to let in the fresh ayre; whereas our wantonnes appeares in large windowes & high roofes, as if we made no difference of being without doores, and being within doores; or that we did neuer purpose to vse our limbes, to goe and take the fresh ayre, but that the fresh ayre should be brought vnto vs; their lying or bedding was very hard, few of them knew what feather-beds meant, and assuredly their bodies would better indure it then ours; as likewise for their lodging in campos, or professing a strict and austere life, as many religious men did; and as they were more apt for their labours, so were they more giuen to their pastimes, their sports and their games then we are; which I suppose did neither argue lightnesse in them, nor any counterfeited grauitie in vs, but the state of their bodies were such as did require them, and the weaknesse of our bodies is such, as we dare not attempt them, for according to the disposition of the body the minde is affected.

From the apparell let vs come to the foode, now it should

The Ancients  
more giuen to  
their sports  
then now we  
are.



Our food compared with the food of the Ancients.

The use of Tobacco in these dayes.

should seeme is the ould age of the world, which appears by the pampering of our selues; for take our ordinary foode, it was neuer heretofore so delicat, so daintie, so tender, as it is at this day, the vsuall, ould, and accustomed food not agreeing with our weak stomackes: we must haue warme and delicious brothes to comfort our decayed nature, exquisite sauces to prouoke our appetite, such purboyling, such helps and remedies of art to prepare our meates for digestion; which assuredly do wel argue, that the world is either dangerously sicke, or come to her ould age, that she should be enforced to vse, or indeed can admit such a physicall diet. For during the strength of nature, while things were in their perfection, a stronger foode did better besit them, & did more agree with their bodies; cookerie was then wholly vnknowne, they could be content with the bare vse of the creatures, without any further delicacy or preparation; water did then serue for their drinke, and they did feede much vpon hearbes, milch-meates and course bread; as the world grew elder, so they did daily more & more decline in the strength of their nature; fasting and eating of fish in succeeding ages, did not so well agree with the state of their bodies, and therefore you shall finde euen in Church-discipline, a greater conuencie, toleration, and dispensation vpon any reasonable cause; and we, that are now false in this last period of times, we are now growne to that faintnesse, that hot waters, and strong drinckes, were neuer so much vsed, hot spices were neuer brought ouer in such plentie, as may well appeare in the custome house: yea such is the continuall weaknesse of our stomackes, that for remedy and helpe thereof, this last age hath found out an Indian drug (the vse of Tobacco) which at all times, vpon all occasions, to all complexions, the full stomacke, the emptie stomacke, in any measure or quantitie taken, must



must serue to cure the rawnesse of the stomack; to extenuate and exhale the ill humors, to help the vndigested foode; but you will say, that the vse, or at least the immoderat vse of this hearbe, proceeds from the wantonnesse of these times, which truely I do easily confesse; yet assuredly the temper and constitution of our bodies, would neuer admit such a wantonnesse, were it not, that it proceeds from the weaknesse of our nature: for if wee should presume as far vpon hearbes in the extremity of coldnesse, suppose the iuyce of Oranges or Limons (which by the art and cunning of man, might bee made euery way as delicious and delicate), certainly wee should feele the smart of our owne follie.

The clothing and foode doe much beoken the soundnesse and constitution of our bodies, yet I cannot content my selfe with them, but I will descend to speake more immediatly of our bodies: it should seeme that death is not onely competent to euery person in particular, but euen the whole world, and all the seuerall kindes of creatures tend to confusion; there is a great decay in euery species, men come not to that strength, nor to that growth, nor to that ripenesse of wit, nor to that fulnesse of yeeres which they did in former times; the world hath his period and his determinate course of yeeres: now is the olde age or decay of this world. The growth and strength of men seeme to proceede from the same causes, and to relie vpon the same foundation (the bones), which according to their massinesse, their weight, or their length giue the proportion and strength to the whole bodie; these bones are yet extant, and are daylie taken vp in sepulchers, whereof I haue often been an eye-witnesse, and hauing duely considered them according to measure and weight, I finde by most vndoubted experience, that they did far exceede ours; their weapons will likewise

Heretofore the  
constitution of  
mens bodies  
was better then  
now it is.



Gods prouidence in mans actions.

A great change doth appeare in mans owne disposition.

testifie as much, for these are yet extant, and are reserved as relikes and trophies of their valour, which the strength of man in these dayes cannot mannage or rule; many things there are likewise, wherein I could instance, which were (in former times) trialls for their strength, but now seeme very impossible to our weaknesse. Consider all their actions which they did undertake, for therein they did as farre exceede vs, as their strength did exceede ours; obserue their attempts in erecting stately Cathedrall Churches for the exercise of Religion, in building huge Castles for defence of their people, in contriuing high waies, causewaies, bridges, & such like, which well betoken noble and braue spirits: whereas our wits in these daies make their employments in things of lesse moment, some prettie toyes and trifles, some new fashion and attire; our buildings are paper-buildings, made onely to serue the present vse and occasion. I am ashamed of our selues, we doate, we doate; though herein I doe acknowledge a wonderfull prouidence of God, while the world had some time of continuance, when the yeeres were not fully expired, then God gaue man a minde and disposition to intend the good of posteritie: but now in these latter daies, when the world is almost come to an vpshot, when the period of time is now approaching; no marueile if God leaue man to himselfe, that out of his own immoderate loue of himselfe, neglecting the common good, and the good of succession, he should onely intend, in his buildings, in the waste of his woods, and in all other his actions, his owne priuate and present commoditie.

Very credible it is, that their grear labours and actions were more performed by their own only strength, for they had lesse vse of instruments, and craines in their buildings, notwithstanding their huge foundations, then



then we haue at this day. But I will not insist in the particular actions; rather this decay of nature, shall appeare in the general disposition and inclination of men, together with the diseases whereunto they are subiect: that a change should appeare in the very nature, and instinct of man, after so great a change in his temper and constitution, I am the rather perswaded to beleue; when I consider how many titles, paragraphes, what large discourses, and iudgements haue past in the Ciuill lawes, concerning the adoption of sonnes; whereof at this day we finde little, or no vse, being lawes which seldome or neuer come to the practise. Certainly as the children of Israel were most carefull, to preserue their tribes whole and entire, vntill the comming of their Messias; and as the Patriarkes were most carefull, as of their succession and seede, so of their dead bones; for *Iacob* gaue charge, that his dead body should be carried out of Egypt (as it were going to Ierusalem in pilgrimage), there to be laid & rest, neere the holy Sepulcher: but since the comming of Christ, you shall finde that their tribes are confounded, and in themselves you shall finde no such inclination. So was it in the ancient Romanes, as long as this world had any time to continue, how carefull were they of succession, if not from their owne loynes, yet by their owne adoption, for the continuance of their names and memories? but now the world is almost come to an vpshot, see the strange change and alteration, a change in our nature! for nature will neuer faile in her ends and purposes: and therefore to desire a continuance of memorie, when the world it selfe shall haue no time of continuance, it cannot stand with the wisdom and prouidence of nature, which hath ingrafted in vs our naturall inclination.

To shew the change of mens mindes, let vs change

The adoption  
of sonnes.



The resolution  
of the Ancients.

Triall by combats.

There may be  
a change in  
the naturall in-  
stinct.

our profession, *à togis ad arma*, from the penne to the speare, from the barre to the campe: Where is that ancient resolution of the Romanes, who desired nothing more, then to sow the seede of their owne blood in defence of their countrey, thereby expecting the eternitie of their names and memories? Infinite are the examples which may be brought to this purpose: but wee on the contrarie supposing (as it were by an implicate faith) some naturall instinct, that the world shall not continue the full age of a man; we thinke our blood better saued, and reserued within the vessels of our owne bodies, then wastfully spent in a vaine expectation of honour and fame, after our deaths. And this I conceiue to bee the reason, that cowardize & feare hath now at length possessed our mindes, in stead of the braue resolution and courage of former times; it was thē thought fit by the wisdom of our lawes, to permit a triall by combats and duels, as well befitting a warlike nation, which notwithstanding at this day, if they be not wholly abolished (not knowing how things may hereafter succeed, or what vse there might bee of such combats vpon some occasions), yet assuredly they cease in the practise.

Let not this change of our mindes seeme strange vnto you; for see you not, how the little chickens stand fearefull of the Kite, whereas the valiant Cocke desires nothing more then the combat? In young men and old men you shall not finde a like inclination: and men of diuers nations you shal finde them seuered, as in their climates, so in their dispositions. Suppose a change should appeare in the naturall inclination of man; it is no more then you may discerne in other creatures: hereafter as man shall finde out new snares to intrap them, assuredly nature giues thē an instinct accordingly for their own preservation, as desiring to continue the same kinde which was created from the beginning. As for example,



example, Gun-powder is a late inuention of mans, a cruell and mercilesse instrument; therefore hath God giuen them a sent and a smell, for their owne safetie and defence: and as the making and vse of it, is a late inuention of ours, so the auoiding & discovering of it, is a late inuentiō of theirs, that so there might appeare as great a prouidence, goodnesse, and power of God in their preservation, as there was in their first creation.

From the change in our mindes, let vs come to the change in the soundnesse and constitution of our bodies: Considering their strength in former times, certainly they were lesse subiect to diseases, then now wee are; for thus the old age of the world, as it is a weaknes in it selfe, so is it accompanied with many infirmities. This may well appeare by their little vse of physicke; for in ancient times, the common sort of men being wholly vnacquainted with physicall receipts, they suffered nature to worke her owne will, and did not ouerload their stomackes, with drugges and porions: not a hundred yeeres since, the Physitian, the Apothecarie and the Surgion, did seeme to belong to one and the same calling and profession of men; but now the necessity of the times inforcing vs, the Physitian containes himselfe within the bounds of his knowledge, prescribes his receipts, and giues his direction; the Drug-gist hee turnes an Apothecarie, distils his waters, and makes his confections; the Barber he proues a Surgion, with his plaisters and salues, searching the wounds, and the bones. Here are three distinct and seuerall courses of life, all set on worke, and all sufficiently employed: the Physitians haue their Colledge, the Surgions their Hall, (*Henry* the 8. gaue the first Charter to both, and that within our memorie); and the Apothecaries are now verie earnest and busie to make themselues a whole entire Companie, forsooth a new Corpora-

The Ancients  
were not so  
subiect to dis-  
eases, as wee  
are.



The Ancients  
more apt to  
ingender.

tion, the more is our miserie and sorrow.

For the difference of diseases; the Ancients were more inclined to hot diseases, such as proceede from the strength of nature, and doe accompanie youth, then we are; as plagues, sweating-sicknesses, plurisies, and all other infectious diseases arising from heate, wherein the blood is inflamed: so likewise the inclination of men to their lusts, arising from the constitution of their bodies, was then much greater then now, (though I doe easily yeeld, that the wantonnesse of these daies farre exceeds theirs), this appeares by the number of *Salomons* Concubines; for then the world was to bee peopled, and their disposition to their lusts was so strong, as that God out of the indulgencie of his owne mercie, did permit a polygamie. This appeares likewise in the dumbe creatures; for the alteration of so many kindes, such numbers & varietie of different creatures did only proceed out of the immoderate heate, which causeth the ingendring & coupling together of contrary kinds: for assuredly in the Arke al those severall kinds were not contained, but since haue sprung vp from the mixture of kindes. So at this day the Southerne people, *propter flatum & calorem*, are more inclined to their lust, though the Northerne people, *propter abundantiam seminis*, may seeme to equall them; yet of both, the Southerne are more vicious, because the vice it selfe ariseth rather from heate and wantonnesse, then from necessitie. But generally, as was their strength greater in former times, so were their infirmities lesse, especially such as proceed from the weaknesse and coldnesse of nature, and herein we seeme most to abound: for prooffe whereof, there are many diseases onely proper to these times, such as were vnknowne to the Ancients; I could name many, but I will onely insist in the French or Neapolitane disease, which though it be accompanied some-  
times



times with a great vnnaturall heate, yet certainly it resides in *pituita crassa*; it may be long harboured in the bodie before it discouers it selfe, and works so leisurely by degrees, as cannot stand with the efficacie of heate; and therefore it must be a cold disease, and argue a great measure of naturall coldnesse and weakenesse, such as their bodies in former times could neuer admit.

From the diseases and infirmities arising out of the naturall constitution of our bodies, let vs come to the cure: The physicke of former times agrees with ours, as in the receipts, so for the dosis and quantitie; thus wee haue the practise, and experience of all ages: and though (I suppose) that their drugges in former times were of farre greater strength and efficacie then ours, (for so I conceiue that the world is in the declining); yet must it follow, that in all things it should carrie a like proportion, as farre foorth as possibly it could, the difference should appeare alike; as in the drugges, so in mans body. Now in this confusion, how shall wee discerne the variety of times? I will therefore prescribe this course for our direction: Certaine it is, that we haue the same dosis, the same measures and weights, for so they agree in all our receipts: now take our bodies with the physicke ioyntly together, and then they will keepe their proportion; but scuer them, and then shall appeare the disparitie. Most sure it is, that in the letting of blood, which is done according to measure, the Ancients did vsually take fixe or seuen times as much, as they doe in these daies: a strange difference, I confesse, and yet vndoubtedly a truth, for *Galen* relates it, &c.

From the diseases I will come to the death of both, if you please to giue me first leaue to speake a word or two, concerning the inward gifts of our mindes; for the wits of former times, certainly they did farre exceede ours, their bodies were better tempered, as being neer

New diseases  
proceeding  
from coldnesse  
and weaknes.

The difference  
betweene the  
Ancients and  
vs, in the cures  
of our diseases.

The wits of  
former times  
did exceede  
ours.



rer the first mould, and the minde followes the temper and disposition of the bodie; though I confesse, that this our age being most proud, arrogant and vaine-glorious, doth most vniustly claime vnto it selfe the name and title of the learned age; shall we ascribe no more to the first founders and inuentors of Arts? Was it a worke of small difficultie to hew and square out nature, allotting to euery Science her proper subiect, her due limitation? to reduce all the seuerall starres into constellations, to obserue their motion, their qualitie, their influence? Grammar, which is the first entrance, and the meanest of all Arts, seemes to bee most excellent in her inuention; that all the seuerall words, how different soeuer, in sound and signification, should be comprehended in an alphabet of foure and twentie letters; that cases, declensions, numbers, tenses, and the like, should figure out the varietie of nature. For all Arts whatsoeuer, the best authors are the most ancient, euen vnto this day: I could instance in euery one in particular, though wee building vpon their foundations, haue added some ornaments, yet such as are not necessarie to perfit the Art: and generally for the Ancients, whatsoeuer you shal obserue in practise amongst them, you shall finde that it stood with great wisdom and prouidence, if you please to haue relation to the times and occasions. And wherein they seeme to be defectiue, you may ascribe it to the happinesse of their times; for their plentie was such, as that they were not inforced to trie all conclusions in husbandrie, whereas our wants seeme to require our best inuentions; their honest plaine and charitable meaning was such, as that they were vnacquainted, or at least thought it not fit, to discover the guile and subtiltie of a serpentine generation; the hardnesse of their bodies, their feare of God, and the ioy of his seruice was such, as that vtterly detesting



all carnalitie, (feareing least the glory and pompe of this world, might steale away themselves from themselves, and that they might be carried with an immoderat loue to the creatures), they thought it fitter to preuent this mischiefe in the root, to professe a more homely and strict kinde of life, and therein to giue themselves contentment; that so their time and leisure might better serue them, for the practise of zeale and deuotion.

But this great learned age hath found out a comparison, wherein we might seeme to magnifie the Ancients, but indeed very cunningly do presse them downe, making them our foote-stooles; preferring our selues before them, extolling and exalting our selues aboue measure; for thus it is said, that we are like dwarfes set vpon shoulders of Gyants, discerning little of our selues, but supposing the learning and ground-worke of the Ancients, we see much further then they, (which in effect is as much, as that we prefer our own iudgements, before theirs): in truth, in truth, a very wittie comparison, certainly it is either a dwarfe or a Gyant, for it will admit no mediocrity. But I pray' let vs examine it, though (I confesse) that comparisons are not alwayes the best proofes; first how these dwarfes should be exhaled and drawne vp to the shoulders of the gyants; here is a point of great difficulty as yet not thought vpon, for I must tell you my iudgement: as in digging the earth some mettals are found, and some are vndiscovered, so is it in reading and perusing the workes of the fathers; we may continually learne, and daily finde out new mynes in their writings; suppose these dwarfes to bee now set vpon the shoulders; it is to bee feared, least seeing so steepe a descent, they will rather fall to a giddines, then be able rightly to iudge of the objects, least they should be confounded with the multiplicity of learning in the fathers, not able to fadome the depth of their grounds;  
for

A foolish comparison answered.

8



The small account which some make of the Fathers.

for wil you suppose, that these Gyants should so infinitely exceed the dwarfes in length and in strength, and yet will you equall them for goodnes and quicknes of sight? I cannot stay long vpon the shoulders of Gyants, for heere is but slippery hold; nor yet vpon the feete of comparisons, for these are but weake grounds and proofes; let this one reason suffice, it is a difference betweene actions voluntary and naturall; that in voluntary (such as are the actions of the vnderstanding) no man can worke according to the vttermost of his power, but when hee hath once spoken, hee may speake againe and againe as much to the purpose; so that hee which shall make himselfe perfect in an other mans worke, yet can neuer therein so fully informe himselfe as the Author. This difference likewise appeares in God, whose vnderstanding being natural and essential, hee vnderstanding and comprehending himselfe, doth beget a word euery way equal to himselfe: but suppose (I pray) that these gyants should stumble or fall, take heede of the dwarfe, take heede of the dwarfe, nay rather cries out the dwarfe, I will guide and direct them, and keepe them from falling; if they will not vphold me, then I will vphold them. Here is presumption in deede; here you shall see some *expurgatorie index, apostasia patrum, errores conciliorum, lapsus ecclesie*; see here what great account they make of the Fathers, and thus they can vse arguments to serue all turnes and occasions.

It cannot stand with the dignity of Christian religion to forsake the Fathers.

I am the more strict to iustifie the wits and learning of the ancient Fathers, because (I suppose) it maks much for the certaintie and dignitie of Christian religion; that our faith tooke no aduantage by other mens ignorance, to spread it selfe, and to get growth in the blindness of error: but at the time of Christs birth, all the liberall Arts did most flourish, there was a generall peace



peace thorough the whole world, the Romane Empire fully settled, and established, Poets, Orators, Philosophers, Historians neuer more excellent. For thus it stood with the prouidence of God, that their wits and qualities might serue as trials and touch-stones of his truth, to examine the seuerall miracles, the mysteries and morall precepts of his law, that both in themselves and in others they might be for confirmation of the faith; that the power of God might likewise discover it selfe, for the greater the adueritarie and opposition is, the more noble is the conquest: and therefore God by the weaknes and foolishnesse of preaching, confounding the strength and wisdom of this world, did therein manifest a miracle, to continue for all succeeding ages. Now this faith, as finding a strong opposition by learning and humane knowledge, so in the Apostles it could not be accompanied with ignorance: and therefore as God gaue them the gift of tongues, so vndoubtedly the knowledge of nature (the same God being the God both of nature and grace); for they could not demonstrate the one, without some reference and relation to the other; heere you see the Church planted. Now in the great world, as men came neerer the first mould, so were they more perfect, both for strength of bodies, and continuance of yeeres, that so they might intend a propagation of their kinde. So was it in the growth of the Church, the first Fathers which did neerer approach to the times of the Apostles, had a greater measure of knowledge by the imposition of their hands, that so they might bee better inabled and instructed for the conuersion of nations. Thus the Prophets in the old law, speaking of the flourishing kingdome of Christ, seeme to point at the times of the Fathers, and as it were to seale them before hand, and to proclaime them to the whole world as Orthodoxall; and therefore as fit precedents

The Prophets  
confirm the  
doctrine of the  
Fathers.



The length of  
our liues com-  
pared with the  
Ancients.

precedents and examples, for all future ages and successions to follow; so that to detract from the Fathers and the primitive age, were to detract from Gods providence, and vnder colour of a naked text (which may well admit diuers expositions), to draw all things to inuouation and vncertainie.

In the last place, I will speake of the life, and of the death, both of our selues and of the Ancients: As man comes not to that strength and growth, which heretofore he did; so vndoubtedly hee is sooner ripened, and comes to that weaknesse, which nature hath appointed him, the heretofore he did: and being not of that sound constitution, as the Ancients were, he hath not that certaintie in the course of his life, but vpon all occasions, out of his weaknesse, he is apt and ready to fall. This I conceiue to bee the reason, why our Gentry in these daies should desire to match their children so young, and that the children themselues should in the spring or morning of their age, be so fit to ingender: now for the length of our liues, some haue been much mistaken, supposing that it might be fitly gathered by the raignes of Princes in former times, whereas indeede there is little heede to be taken vnto them; seeing the time of their gouernment, hath no relation to the yeers of their age, but to the death of their ancestors, or to the time of their election; so that if you will suppose, the predecessor to liue long, the successor may likewise liue long, yet raigne but a short time. And heretofore Princes did more aduenture themselues in the danger of their warres, then now they doe, and therefore more did mis-carrie; but if you please to consider their liues together, most certaine it is, that before the deluge, men liued many hundred yeeres, and the birth of their children carried a iust proportion to their age: since the deluge, (assuredly) the decay hath proceeded by degrees. *David*  
in



in his time, who liued much about the yeere after the worlds creation 2890, which was twelue hundred yeeres after the deluge, or thereabouts, confesseth, that the age of man was threescore and ten yeeres; for then it should seeme they came to that age with full strength: but in these times, few men (I will not speake of Princes, such as *David* was, whose daintie and delicate fare doth certainly shorten the course of their liues) doe attaine with much sorrow and griefe to threescore and tenne yeeres; though I confesse that this alteration, as all other naturall alterations whatsoeuer, doth not so easily appeare to the sense, but is more fitly gathered by the obseruation of reason; for I thinke that seuentie yeeres then, had the same proportion that fiftie yeeres haue now at this time.

From man I will come to the elements, and I will insist in the neereſt elemēts (the generatiue elements), the water and earth; for this change and alteration appeares not in man alone, but the very elements themselves are much decayed in their wonted perfection: for our seas are growne fruitlesse and barraine, as it appeares vpon records in our Hauen townes, that a farre greater quantitie of fish hath formerly been taken and brought into this land, then there is in these daies. If you answer me, y<sup>t</sup> it proceeds from the loosenes of these times, as neglecting all fasts, I doe easily confesse our abuse; yet I thinke it not sufficient to cause this scarcitie; for our sailes at this time are more in number then euer they were, our skill is much better, our wants and necessities are farre greater, and so our labour and industrie should bee proportioned accordingly. I rather thinke it proceeds from the decay of the elements; or indeed doe esteeme it as a punishment of God vpon vs, as hee sometimes punished the Egyptians with their flesh-pots in the death of their fish, *Exod. 7. 18.* I might  
here

The seas doe not afford the like quantitie of fish, as heretofore they haue done.



*Mr Camden.*

The earth is  
growne bar-  
raine.

here likewise iustly complaine of the wrong and iniurie, which wee daily sustaine from the incroching Hollander, or low-countriman; who desires to vnite seas, as he hath already vnited Prouinces, and to make himselfe the great Lord of the Ocean: for as in ancient times their golden fleece was made of our English wooll, so now their great Fleete must incroach vpon our seas (for kingdomes haue a proprietie, as in their townes and their soyle, so in their coasts, and their seas, which they cannot neglect, with their owne profit or safetie). But I may speake it with greater hearts grieve, I feare lest their seas and in-undations, doe not only reach to our Hauen townes, but haue generally ouerwhelmed this whole Iland: for as my most deare and louing schoole-master, *Mr William Camden*, now *Clarenceux*, & famous & most renowned Antiquarie of our age, hath truly & wisely obserued in his Chronicle, in the time of our seruice in their warres (in the Low-countries, our Englishmen, which of all other Northerne people, were euer held the most temperate), we haue gottē such an habit and custome of drunkennesse, that no other nation at this day seemes to be more tainted with that vice, then our selues. And thus their vnthankfulnesse, together with those ill customes, which we haue borrowed from them, seeme to be the rewards of our seruice.

From the seas, I will come to the land: The earth is growne barraine and fruitlesse in her owne kinde; I speake not onely of that earth, which hath long tasted the plow-share and harrow, and must haue a time of respite and ease, to recouer her owne strength; but, the whole earth in generall doth not beare the like burthen and crop, which it did in the daies of our forefathers: for as it is in a part, so it is in the whole. Suppose, that any quantitie of ground were yeerely employed to medow, arable, or pasture, and that the whole crop  
of



of this ground should bee ycerely spent vpon it selfe, and so should retorne againe in compost; certainly this ground would much decay in goodnesse, for in vaine shall wee expect the good seasons of the yeere, vnlesse the earth carrie in it selfe a kinde of farnesse. Yet I confesse that some grounds there are, either rich of themselves, or made rich by water-floods, that they doe not only preſerue themselves, but likewise serue to helpe others; yet euery husbandman cannot bee so happie to haue them, and where they are in greatest abundance, yet they cannot supplie the barrennesse of the neighbour and bordering grounds: for nature more abounds in the one, then in the other, so that this must argue a barrennes in generall, though not in particular. Whereunto I will adde the weakenesse of the elements, decay of the heauens, and a generall imperfection in al things now, in this last old and cold age of the world; & therefore those countries, which were first inhabited (suppose the Easterne countries), are very much impou-erished at this time; the weaknesse of nature discovering it selfe, not ab'le to supplie those mines and mettals, which formerly they did; not able to bring foorth or to ripen those excellent delicious fruits, which heretofore they had in great plentie.

To draw neerer home, for this kingdome wherein we liue; it is not only the complaint of all old men, and our own experiēce, but likewise many reasons drawne from husbandrie, not so fit to bee alleaged in this place, doe vndoubtedly perswade me, that our land is growne barraine, and yeelds not that profit, which formerly it did, in the daies of our forefathers: I will make one or two instances, following the counsell of the wise man, Eccles. 39. 31. The fruitfulnessse of a land especially appeares in the hony and wine; the one proceeds from the dew of the flower; the other takes a deeper foundation in

As in the parts  
so in y whole.

A particular  
instance for  
this kingdome.



We haue not  
the like quan-  
tity of hony  
now, as here-  
tofore.

Our grapes  
come not to  
that ripenes  
now, as here-  
tofore.

in the earth; the one argues the sweetnesse of the grasse or the pasture, the other the goodnesse and depth of the mould; the one is the worke onely of nature, the other requires the helpe and furtherance of husbandrie and art; and in both of them it shall sufficiently appeare, how this land hath declined. When I consider the great vse of hony in former times, for their drinkes, for their foode; and likewise the great quantitie of waxe-lights, which were anciently spent in their diuine seruice; assuredly our countrey at this day cannot afford the one halfe of that which formerly it did, it is apparent; for there was neuer so great scarcitie, and yet it is not transported, and here at home we haue little vse to imploy it. Is it because men neglect  $\&$  keeping of Bees? No certainly, the price would allure them, for there is no such profit, with so little charge; but certainly nature in generall is weakned, the creatures begin to decay, and God denies his blessing for the increase.

Secondly, it is very credibly reported, that in this our Northerne climate we haue had heretofore a vintage in Wostershire; and it appeares vpon record, that tith hath bin paid for wine pressed out of grapes, growing in the little Parke at Winsor, in the time  $\&$  being then in the possession of King *Edw. 1.* But at this time, whether thorough the cold mould of the earth, or thorough the weaknesse and swift declining of the sun, as being not able to bring our grapes to ripenesse and perfection (the grapes being a very lateward fruit, containing a great naturall heate, which appeares by the strength of our wines, and their long continuance, and therefore require a hot soyle); yet at this time it is thought to be a work impossible: the like may bee said for Wales, and the North parts of this kingdome in many places, where fruits and saffron did anciently growe, (the places still carrying the names of those fruits), within these late yeeres,



yeeres, triall being made, and all possible diligence and good husbandry obserued, yet they faild in their purposes.

It may be obiectioned against me, that if nature did thus decline, yet still the fruits should continue the same, though not the same in their strength and their power; for wine here in England, if euer we had, then still wee should haue, though more imperfect and weake; but Philosophy is well able to answer this obiection, *datur in rebus maximum & minimum*: nature hath appointed certaine limits and bounds to euery kinde of the creatures, beyond which, or beneath which, the creature cannot subsist. Now in the generall declining, far bee it, that she should appoint new boundes to the vndetermined essence of the creatures; rather she should preserve them as long as it lies in her power, and being defective, not able to produce them, there should follow a cessation of their being, and no new qualification of their nature: and in this declining, some things are more limited then others, and therefore will admit fewer degrees in their qualities and will sooner perish; so that notwithstanding the decay doth equally concerne all, yet some things may wholly cease, while others shall still be continued, out of the large extent of their owne bounds.

That a generall scarcitie and penury may appeare, consider the prices of things, how excessive they are in these our latter dayes, and how they are raised aboue measure beyond all expectation: heretofore (I confesse) they haue had as great famins as we haue, but I suppose not so vially; and commonly these famins did not arise from any vnseasonable weather, or barrenesse of the earth, but rather from ciuill warres within themselves, making hauocke and waste of natures blessings, and of poore mens labours; for if you would suppose (which

Bb

God

An obiection  
answered in  
Philosophie

The excessive  
prices of  
things, and the  
scarcitie of  
these times.



God forbid) a Campe subsisting of 20000. men to bee lodged within the hart of our kingdome, assuredly it would cause an extraordinary great dearth amongst vs: but now we seeme to sustaine a continuall famine, notwithstanding our peaceable times, and our great labours (necessity so inforcing vs); and therefore we can blame none but nature, nor can we thinke that she is casually distempered, for then I would gladly aske, when at length (in Gods name) wil she returne to her first temper and constitution? for we see no tokens, signes, or appearance of any recovery; and therefore we feare, that she daily more and more decays in her ould age, and in vaine may we expect reformation: for whereas some suppose the causes of this scarcitie, to be either the wonderfull increase of people, or the great plentie of coyne, wherewith we abound in respect of our Ancestors; these reasons which do so much ouer-sway many, I wil briefly examine.

A comparison  
betweene our  
times and the  
former, for the  
number and  
multitude of  
men.

For the number of men, wee are not able to send forth such huge armies, as we read of in former times; we dare not vndertake such taskes, and infinit labours as they did: I confesse indeed, that the Cities and townes do now swarme with people, and therefore they make the greater shewe of a number; but the country (which truly and indeed did afford it) in a scattered and dispersed Multitude (I thinke) was neuer more naked and desolat then it is at this day. Such depopulation of townes, inclosing of villages; a shepheard with his dog their inhabiting, where formerly many hundred men were maintained, many good horses kept for defence of our land, and much prouision for our plentie. He that shall well consider our lawe. bookes, the exact measuring of lands in those dayes, the largenes and capacity of their Churches, the ould foundations, which now are daily raked vp by the plow; shall (by all probable



ble coniecture) conceiue, that the world was then as well peopled as it is in these times. The Church-bookes indeed are not extant, which might serue for our euidence; yet this I can say for a truth, that in Bangor (which is a small village in Wales) 800. yeers ago, there were abiding and daily resident there, two and twenty hundred Monkes, besides seruants and others which did attend them: at this day I could see no reliques thereof, onely some fewe closes did beare the name of porches and gates; and I thinke at this time, that both our Vniuersities can hardly equall that number. Since (it should seeme) that our land did surfeit with people, and therefore it was to be let bloud, in the wars between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke: and he that will conceiue, how infinitely the people of Israel did multiply in a short time, living vnder the bondage of Ægypt, will neuer doubt but that this land might haue bin sufficiently stockt and stored with people, long since the first plantation.

Now for the plenty of our coyne, because we haue it not from our selues, I will therefore first speake of the fountaines before I come to the streames, that so according to the ouerflowing of the one, you may iudge of the other. If the West Indies haue now at length bin discovered, the Easterne haue failed; otherwise our Marchants should neuer be so much inforced, to trade with their coyne: and heerein I do acknowledge a speciall prouidence of God, who foreseeing in his wisdom, that the carnall Mahumetans (his owne professed enemies) should possesse the land of Promise: and as their forefathers the Iewes and the Heathen, were guilty of the bloud of Christ; so they should seaze vpon the holy sepulchre, in token of the bloody persecution of his Church (all which God did permit in his iustice for our sinnes), yet hee in his wisdom, first suffered it to bee

Bangor in  
Wales neere  
Wrexham.

Gods prouidence in the  
Turkish dominions.



The great  
plenty of coine  
and of filuer  
and gold a-  
mong the  
Iewes.

worne out with vse, or to decay of it selfe, before the cursed *Ottomans* should conquer it: for notwithstanding the large circuite of his territories and prouinces, yet in wealth and treasure, yea in the power of his countrey, and most especially in the strength of his Nauie, the Turke is inferiour to some Christian Princes. But let vs consider the plentie of coyne, as Scripture reports it; *Abraham* gaue vnto *Ephron* (as it may appeare, Gen. 23. vers. 16.) foure hundred siluer shekels for a field to burie his dead: Now the common shekell is accounted twentie pence, which if it shall please you to multiplie, foure hundred shekels will amount to three and thritie pound sixe shillings, eight pence; supposing five shillings sterling the ounce (a very large price to purchase a buriall). The plentie of their siluer and gold, did likewise appeare in those times, by their wearing of rings, bracelets, abilimentss, &c. of the magnificence of *Salomons* Court, of the wealth and treasure of the Temple, where all the vessels were of a wonderfull price; and of the custome in those times, to send out shipping, and to returne home loaded with oare, Scripture makes mention. Whereunto prophane and heathen writers, doe likewise beare witnesse, for *Eupolennus*, *Polybistor*, and *Hecateus Abderita*, that liued and serued in warre with King *Alexander* the Great, make mention (amongst other things) of the inestimable riches of *Salomon*, and of the treasures which he did hide and bury (according to the fashion of that time) in the Sepulchre of his father *Dauid*: which to be no fable, (though not mentioned by the Scripture) *Iosephus* well proueth, for that *Hircanus* the high Priest, and King of Iurie, being besieged in Ierusalem by *Antiochus*, surnamed *Pius*, not many yeeres before Christs natiuitie, to redeeme himselfe and the Citie, and to pay for his peace, opened the said Sepulchre of *Dauid*, and fetcht out of one part thereof,



thereof, three thousand talents in ready money, which amount to 600000. pounds English, if we account the talents but at the least size of *talentum Habraicum*.

But let vs draw to our selues, and come to this climate wherein we liue, and compare our wealth in coyne with our ancestors: first therefore I must acquaint you, that our coyne is much fallen, & beares not that weight which formerly it did; for it appears among the statutes of *Edward* the 2, that twentie pence sterling, then waied an ounce: in the ninth yeere of *Edward* the 3, 26. pence waied an ounce: in the second of *Hen.* the 6. 32. pence waied an ounce: in the 5. of *Edward* the 4. 40. pence waied an ounce: in the 31. of *Henry* the 8. 45. pence waied the ounce: in the second of *Elizabeth* 60. pence waied the ounce: and so it continueth vnto this day; so that an hundred pounds heretofore, was as much as three hundred pounds now, besides the finesse of their coyne: wherein, as I take it, they did farre exceede vs. I will not dispute, how it may stand with the wisdom and policie of States, to raise or inhaunce coynes: but certaine it is, that the prices of all things will immediatly follow the coynes, according to the weight, finenesse and goodnesse of the mettall; though things may be done to serue the present turne, yet they shall finde a great abatement in their ancient rents: where a little innouation is once begun, it is wonderful to see the abuses which doe vsually accompanie it, &c. Now if wee shall obserue the shrines and gilding of Temples in former times; if wee consider the rich Copes, the ornaments, vestiments, and vessels of the Church; or the robes and hangings of Princes, which are yet extant; or the moneys and coyne which at this day is found in great plentie, in those places where the Romanes haue formerly encamped; if we consider their massie and most substantial old plate, their extraordina-

How the coine here amongst vs, hath daily decayed in weight.

The great wealth of the Ancients.



The great  
plenty of coine  
and of filuer  
and gold a-  
mong the  
Iewes.

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How the coine here amongst vs, hath daily decayed in weight.

The great wealth of the Ancients.



rie cunning, in cutting, caruing, and curious workmanship of stones, and mettals, farre surpassing vs; their borders, wiers, and other ornaments made of beaten gold or siluer, more then in vse, then they are in these daies: and that our ancestors haue found out mines at their owne homes, that vndoubtedly for all other mettals, as Lead, Iron, Tinne, Copper, Brasse, and the like, it appeares by their buildings, and their other imployments, that they had them in a farre greater plentie, then we haue in these daies: and mettals are so interchangeably mixed together (which is the ground of all Chimistrie), that the plentie of the one, cannot possibly subsist with any great scarcity of the other.

Now at this time I feare there is more siluer and gold wastfully spent and transported, then is yeerely brought into this land, notwithstanding the prices of things doe daily arise, though not in such an excessiue manner, as formerly they haue done.

As for some base coynes which they had in ancient times, I may well doubt, whether it stood not with the wisdom and policie of the State to admit them, seeing the richest nations doe the like at this day.

To speake with more certaintie of things, which appeare vpon record; he that shall peruse our Law-books, shall finde, that three hundred yeeres agoe and aboue, before the warres began betweene the two Houses, the costs and charges at law, were very great and large, almost as much as at this day: speaking now out of the course of mine owne studies, I may seeme to be a stranger, wholly ignorant therein; yet giue me leaue (with your good patience) to make one or two instances to this purpose. *William Wickam* recovered of his predecessor Bishop *Edendon* of Winchester, in the yere 1366, for dilapidations of his house, 1662. pounds, tenne shillings: and lest you might conceiue that such a large summe

The costs,  
charges and  
fines were very  
large heretofore.



summe of money might bee allowed for some other losse and detriment sustained, hee recovered likewise 1556. head of Neate, 3876. Weathers, 4717. Ewes, 3521. Lambes, and 127. Swine; all which stocke belonged to the Bishopricke. Because wee cannot take a perfect suruey of the buildings, how they were left; and generally because all trespasses are very vncertaine, whereof wee cannot take due notice; let vs therefore come to the fines, which certainly were very large in those daies: In the time of *Henry* the 6, the Duke of Holland (being then high Admirall) was fined at tenne thousand pounds, for holding plea in a cause determinable at the Common law; it was very much for such an offence, if you please to haue relation to the rates of coyne, which before I haue prefixed.

Not to speake of the ransomes of Princes, which were very great in former times; not to speake of any particular mans wealth, though I could name many; for *Thomas Ruthall*, whose meanes of getting were not ouer great, neither could he iustly be taxed with greedinesse or sparing, living in the time of *Henry* the 7, his wealth in present coyne did amount to aboue one hundred thousand pounds, which was discovered by *Cardinall Wolsey*. I pray consider their house-keeping, such huge gates, and open doores, spacious halles, long tables, great kitchins, large chimneys; their tellars, ouens, vessels, pots, and powdring tubs, deepe, profound, and bottomlesse: all their other prouision made in a bountifull manner, as may appeare by the rents of their tenants, their barnes, granaries, granges, slaughter-houses; the multitudes of mouthes in their numberlesse seruants; the ringing of bells to call all to their feasts; their infinite holy daies, which were the times for their meeting. These things duly considered, you shall find their expense was very excessiue. Now take these with their

Bb 4

prices,

The great  
house-keeping  
of the An-  
cients.



Wine was dearer in ancient times, then it is.

prices, and first for those things which were brought o-  
uer into this kingdome; *Henry Bowet*, Archbishop of  
Yorke in the time of *Henry* the 5, spent in his house  
yeerely of Claret wine onely, foure score tunnes: this  
might seeme incredible, were it not that it appeares by  
such euidence, as cannot bee denied. Now let vs exa-  
mine the price of this wine: I finde among the statutes  
of *Edw.* the 2. (which was long before that time), that  
Vintners were appointed to sell their wine at twelue  
pence the gallon, and not aboue; we cannot reade, nor  
cannot conceiue that since that time wine should fall  
in the price, being none of our owne commodities; so  
then supposing wine at twelue pence the gallon, and  
considering that 26 pence then waied an ounce, where-  
as now 60 pence goe to the ounce; he then spent only  
in Claret wine (if I doe not mistake in my reckonings)  
 $9304 \text{ ounces } \frac{8}{13}$ , which did the amount to 1008 pounds:  
which foresaid number of ounces, would now amount  
to 2326 pounds, three shillings, one penny: at this time  
supposing wine to be at two shillings y gallon, as now  
it is sold, you may buy as much for 8064 ounces, which  
would be worth 2016 pounds of our currant money; so  
that you shall saue  $1240 \text{ ounces } \frac{8}{13}$ , which heretofore  
the same wine would haue cost; which number of oun-  
ces, being reduced into pounds, it will amount to 310  
pounds, three shillings, one penny: so that it appeares,  
that wine is now sold cheaper, by a seuenth part, then  
heretofore it hath been, which makes much to shew the  
plentie of their coyne.

To speake of our owne countrie prouision, assuredly  
the prices of things doe not hold proportion, and cor-  
respondencie to the weight and valuation of coynes;  
as may appeare by that most excellent statute of rent-  
corne, made in the behalfe of our Vniuersities, which  
hath proued so beneficiall to Colledges. And if you  
please



please to consider the almes-deedes, and charitable beneuolence of former times, as well in their money, as in their victuals, you may truly affirme, that as they farre exceeded vs in the one, so they came not much short in the other. It shall appeare by this one instance: *Richard de Burie*, sometimes Bishop of Durrham in the yeere 1333, bestowed weekly, for the reliefe of the poore, eight quarters of wheate, made into bread, besides the fragmēts of his house, the offals of his slaughter-house, and yeerely much clothing: In his iourney betweene New Castle and Durrham, he gaue alwaies by his own appointed order, eight pounds in almes; from Durrham to Stocton, five pounds; from Durrham to Aukland, five marks; from Durrham to Middleham, five pounds. They that succeeded these old Bishops in their wealth and abundance, I hope will excuse our new and now Bishops, if they be not so plentifull in their almes, when as indeed they seeme to succede them only in the Cure, the Pastorall charge, and imposition of hands.

To conclude, these excessive prices of things do well argue a great scarcitie, that the whole world is turned bankrupt, though we to saue our owne credit, can make the best shew for our honor & reputations sake; we can name huge summes of money, but wee borrow vpon such base tearmes, wee set our lands vpon such a rack-rent, that if the tenant payes one yeere, he runnes away the next: and therefore I am perswaded, that men in letting out their lands in such manner, doe not so much regard the present rent, as a future intended sale of those lands, after twentie, or two and twentie yeeres purchase; for otherwise they would neuer bee fed with words in effect, and neglect their present securitie. An other cause of our scarcitie may be (besides the heauie iudgements of God, whereof I wil not dispute) our immoderate vse of the creatures; men were neuer so delicate

The plentie of their coyne appeared in their almes.

The corrupt dealings of this age, in respect of former times.



We dissent  
from the An-  
cients in a case  
of conscience.

The materiall  
heauens tend  
to corruption.

cate and curious in their diet or food, as they are at this day, neuer so wastfull in their expence, the world did neuer so much abound with surfeits and drunkenness: heretofore they had their fastings as well as their feasting, but this is superstitious (forsooth). Thus while some proue infinitely lauish, dissolute, and riotous, the poore people of our land neuer sustained the like scarcity and wants. I might likewise accuse the euill disposition of men, for in ancient times, they knew not the art of monopolizing, their meaning was honest and plaine; but we are our crafts-masters, the Landlord neuer ceasing from racking his poore tenants, and the tenants must set an answerable price on their wares: heretofore it was thought a poynt of conscience, *that euery man should sell his commodities according to such reasonable rate, as he himselfe could afford them*; but now our conscience is enlarged, and therefore wee must enlarge our price, supposing *that it is lawfull for euery man to make the most of his owne, and to sell his owne wares to the greatest advantage*. Thus euery man strives to raise the market; and thus things are inhaunced to the great preiudice of many Lords, who cannot alter their quit-rents; and to the vtter vndoing of the poore Commonaltie, when the labours of men, and the drudgerie of poore people is not, nor cannot bee inhaunced accordingly.

Now since the fruitfulnessse, or barrennessse of the earth, proceedes from the influence and disposition of the heauens; in the last place I dare accuse the materiall heauens, as being guiltie, conspiring, and together ioyntly tending to corruption; Scripture shall warrant me, *the heauens shall waxe old as doth a garment*, Psalme 102. vers. 26. Reason and all humane learning shall backe me, for certaine it is, that the Sunne hath descended much lower by many degrees, then he was in the time



time of King *Ptolemie*; the same Mathematicall instruments, which agree together in all other dimensions, doe vndoubtedly proue the diuersitie; by vertue of perspective glasses, we haue lately discerned spots and shadowes in the Moone; and within our memorie, in the yeere 1572. a true Comet did appeare in the eighth Heauen, which as it had a time of beginning, so had it a period, and time of dissoluing. And thus being mortall of our selues, wee dwell in houses of clay, the roose of this world, as well as the foundations shall together be mooued; for wherefore serues the diuersitie of seasons, the day and the night succeeding each other, Summer and Winter, the rising and setting of Starres, the different and contrarie motions, the various aspects and oppositions? but that in some sort they partake of our nature, and shall haue their part and portion with ours.

For prooffe of this truth, let vs compare times with times, and so it shall better appeare; the hot Zones heretofore adiudged by all the Ancients to be vnhabitable, we know that now they are habitable, and furnished with people; let vs thinke reuerently of the Ancients, they were very wise, and as I suppose far exceeding vs. Can we conceiue them to be such simple men, so fondly mistaken at their owne homes, being neighbours, and bordering vpon these hot climates, where a few daies sayling, would discouer the truth? a truth so manifest and palpable, as that they could not pretend any grosse ignorance; let vs doe them no wrong, but so esteeme of them, as we desire our posteritie may regarde vs. What a shame and dishonour were it to vs, if future ages shall condemne vs for fooles and lyars; and that our testimonie should be reiected in such things as concerne our times, whereof triall and experience might informe vs, without further reason or discourse? Rather  
let

The hot Zones  
made habitable.



The wonder-  
full worke of  
Gods proui-  
dence.

let vs wonder at the prouidence of God, when the world was yet in her infancie and youth, no maruell if heate did abound, the earth as yet was vnpeopled, and therefore men in those dayes had roome enough, to make choice of their habitation and dwelling; but now the world grones vnder the multitude and number of people, the heauens doe likewise decay in their wonted strength. And therefore now at length, new Ilands appeare in the Ocean, which before neuer were extant; other Ilands and Continents are daylie discovered, which were concealed from antiquitie; places formerlie knowne to be excessiue in heate, are made habitable by the weakenesse and olde age of the heauens; the colde Zones are tempered either thorough thicke misty ayre, or the stipation of coldnesse, God preparing their bodies, and giuing them food and clothing accordinglie. Thus God in the beginning of the world, out of his owne foresight and goodnesse, did fit and temper himselfe according to the times and occasions (giue mee leaue to speake after the manner of men, though otherwise I know the immutabilitie of Gods nature), as long as there was vse of Paradise, so long it continued in state and perfection, being once forsaken and destitute, then followed the dissolution.

The burning  
of Phaeton.

If the Ancients were strangers abroad, and might easilie mistake, yet in their owne dwellings and habitations, their sense for want of reason would serue to informe them; certaine it is, that there was a great burning in *Phaetons* time, though grounded I confesse vpon a fabulous historie; yet for the truth of it, signes and tokens thereof did appeare for many subsequent ages: and strange it is among the heathen, what preuention of fire did hereby insue; inuventing a kinde of slate which might resist the violence of fire, and therein reseruing and laying vp the hidden treasure of their writings



writings and records, against such a generall combustion; whereas in these daies we neuer found the heate of the sunne to be such, we neuer sustained any such damage, but that the coldnesse and moysture of the winter could easilie recompence our losse; nay rather we haue iust cause to complaine of the sunnes weakenesse, and that he is defectiue in heate: notwithstanding that in this time of his olde age, God hath appoynted that the sunne should enter into the hot signes, yet both sunne and signes are defectiue in their power, and cannot ripen our fruites in that manner, which formerly the sunne alone did in the waterie constellations. What a strange difference appeares in our seasons, more then in ancient times; we can not promise vnto our selues the like certaintie, neither in our seede time, nor in our harvest, nor in the whole course of the yeere, which they did: for a wonder it is, to heare the relation of old men in this kinde, how they all seeme to agree in one complainte, which certainly betokens a truth. If you tell me of our corrupt computation of the yeere, my answer is, that the change is so insensible (not a day in an age) as that it makes no sensible difference; yet herein I cannot excuse our selues, for if the world should continue many ages, our Christmas would fall out in harvest: whereas certaine it is, that the day was first appoynted according to Christs birth, and Christ was borne neere *solstitium brumale*, when the dayes were the shortest, and then began to increase; as *Iohn Baptist* was borne at Midsommer, when the dayes were at the longest, and then began to shorten; to be a figure (as Saint *Ambrose* obserueth) that Christ should increase, as *Iohn Baptist* decreased; but now in these times, our dayes are increased a full houre in length, before the Natiuitie.

If still thou proouest wilfull, and wilt not belecue the Ancients,

John  
3.30



Naturall alterations are insensible.

Ancients, but talkest onely of thine owne experience and particular knowledge; it were to bee wished, that thou shouldest trie all conclusions in Physicke vpon thine owne bodie, that so thou mightest see onely with thine owne eyes, and take nothing by relation from others: if thou iudgest of times past by thine owne little experience, thou canst not truely iudge of the workes of nature, which haue in themselues insensible changes and alterations; thou canst not see thy selfe growing, yet at length thou perceiuest thine owne growth. Suppose there were little alteration in this world, it would then argue the newnesse of this world, that it was created but this morning, for as yet the Heauens haue not once seene their owne reuolutions: it would likewise argue the excellencie of the workeman, as in the framing, so in the continuance of his worke; for if the heauens should alwaies want some repaying and mending, we might well thinke, that the state of the Church triumphant, were not vnlike the state of the Church militant, alwaies requiring, and calling for dilapidations; yet in reason, you shall easilie discern the vndoubted tokens of the worlds ruine.

Now that I am false to the generall dissolution of this world, which shall bee performed by the rage and violence of fire, according to the receiued tradition of the Ancients; whereunto Scripture agrees, and according to the opinion of the best learned Philosophers, who ascribe the greatest actiuitie to fire: and were it not for the situation, as being aboue the rest of the elements, and for that naturall inclination which it hath in it selfe ( arising out of an inbred pride, as knowing his excellencie aboue the rest), that being once out of his owne proper place, it will not thus be suppressed, but will ascend with the greatest swiftnesse, and expedition, carrying the forme of a pyramise, for the more easie penetration;



tration; assuredly all the rest of the elements together conspiring, could not incounter the fire. Now fire hath this propertie, *congregare homogenea & segregare heterogenea*, and therein doth figure out the last and finall iudgement, wherein a separation shall be made of the Goates from the Lambes, of the corne from the chaffe, of the iust from the reprobate: I cannot nor dare not prescribe the day and houre of that iudgement, rather with patience I will waite on Gods leisure, & with my assured hope, will expect to see my Redeemer in his flesh, and in my flesh, so descending as he ascended; for herein we haue the testimonie of Angels, *This Iesus which is taken vp from you into Heauen, shall so come, as you haue seene him goe into Heauen*, Acts 1.11; the same in nature, the same in power, the same in mercy, the same in true loue and affection: Iesus the sonne of *Dauid*, Iesus the sonne of *Marie*, who was the propitiation for our sinnes, and shall come againe in glorie to iudge both the quicke and the dead. Yet sure I am, that the time cannot bee long absent, for all the signes of his comming doe already appeare: when the hangings and furniture are taken downe, it is a token that the King and the Court are remoouing; nature now beginning to decay, seemes to hasten Christs comming: to let passe many strong presumptions of our Diuines, concerning the approach of that day; these three proofes, drawne from naturall reason, doe easilie induce mee to beleue it.

First, looking to the generall decay of this world, which argues the approach of this iudgement: secondly, to the great preparation for fire, which must then serue for the execution of Gods wrath: thirdly, the fit occasions seeming to hasten this iudgement, &c. Most certaine it is, that if the world should continue many thousand yeeres, and that wee should suppose that nature

Fire doth resemble the last iudgement.

fyr gathereth together y<sup>e</sup> like with y<sup>e</sup> like: asunder thingz in kind

& ioyneth bred & parts vnlike:

The last iudgement approacheth.

The generall decay of nature hastens the iudgement.



An equall distance of time in Gods iudgements.

ture would decay in such sort, as we are able to proue by demonstratiue euidence, already she hath done; assuredly nature of her selfe, thorough her owne weaknesse would come to nothing; and the world should not bee able to supplie mens necessities. Suppose this one kingdome, besides the generall barrennesse which hath befallne vs, whereof wee may iustly complaine; if we should commit the like waste in our woods, as formerly wee haue done, in this last forepassed age; assuredly we should bee left so destitute of fuell, of houses, of shipping, that within a short time, our land would proue almost inhabitable, for such things as require a great growth, wherein man cannot see the present fruites of his prouidence; husbandrie and labour, for the most part, they are alwaies neglected, and it lies not in the power of one age to recouer her selfe: thus out of the decay of nature we may almost expect a dissolution, as by the signes and symptoms we iudge of a dangerous and desperate disease. Thus you may obserue almost a like distance, from the creation to the deluge, from the deluge to Christ, from Christ vnto vs; as God ordaines euery thing according to rule, order and measure: after fiftene generations expired, you shall alwaies note in Scripture, some great alteration and change. Saint *Matthew* was therefore called from the receite of custome, to cast vp this account in the genealogie of Christ, as it appeares in his first chapter: now at length in Gods name what may wee expect should befall vs? Whatsoever concerns the kingdome of Shilo, *consummatum est*, it is already perfited, wee must not looke for any further addition; that which remaines, it is the sound of the trumpet, *ut consummetur seculum*, that the world may be destroyed by fire.

Secondly, fire shall bee the second ouerthrowe, this Scripture and reason confirms; now certaine it is, that  
God



God who hath first instituted nature, hath so ordained her, as she may best serue to be an instrument to worke his owne ends and purposes; to shew a conformitie of the effects with the cause, thereby to manifest his owne empire and rule which still he retaines in the creatures: as likewise the obedientiall power, whereunto the creatures are subiect; that so may appeare how absolute and powerfull he is, first to appoint the creatures, then how gracious and mercifull he is, to impart himselfe, and to ioyne with the creatures in the same action. Thus the waterie constellations did then gouerne and rule, when the world was ouerwhelmed with waters, now at this time, and for a few hundred yeeres yet to continue, the fierie constellations shall haue the predominancie; and therefore credible it is, that within the compasse of this time, there shall happen the generall combustion.

Thirdly, the dissolution of this world betokens a generall punishment, the iudgement accompaning hath reference to our transgressions: as in the first permission of sinne appeares the goodnesse of God, who can turne our sinnes to his glorie, either for the manifestation of his mercy or iustice; so in this great tolerating of sinne appeares Gods patience and long suffering. But now our sinnes are come to a full ripenesse, now is the harvest, and the weedes choake vp the wheate; and therefore necessitie seemes to inforce, and to hasten the approach of this iudgement, that at length there might bee a separation of both, though hetherto they haue growne vp together. Thus Christs first comming in the flesh was to restore the decayed state of the Iewes, for then hee was borne into this world, when charitie was growne colde, the Priesthood bought and sould for a price, the Kings office extinguished, the tribe of Iuda neglected, the synagogue diuided into sects and

Cc

schismes;

The last iudgement shall be, while the fierie constellations doe rule.

The necessitie of iustice, in regarde of our sinnes, seemes to hasten this iudgement.



schifnes; and this is in some sort resembled by the barrenesse of the earth, for hee came in the winter season, and hee was borne at midnight, to argue the worlds vniuersall darknesse and ignorance. So must it bee for his second comming, he hath giuen vs a watch-word, *that the sonne of man will come at an houre, when hee is not expected*, Luk. 12. vers. 40. Now is that time when we doe not expect him, we neuer thinke of iudgement, of hell, of fire, of damnation; Religion hath taken vp wings, and is returned to heauen, from whence she descended: Men are now growne carelesse in their profession, and liue after a sensuall manner like beasts; we are now growne to the height and top of all sinne; our sinnes, our crying sinnes now crie for vengeance; and therefore the time of his comming cannot be farre absent, hee will take the best opportunitie, like a theefe in the night; we may then expect him, when wee doe least expect him. But I will leaue this, as being not so pertinent to my purpose, and grounded onely vpon coniectures, &c.

Our fall is examined by Philosophie.

Now I haue brought man to his graue, and together with man the whole fabricke of nature, you would thinke, that at length I should discharge him: I haue buried him deep enough (I confesse), for I haue cast the heauens and the earth vpon him, and together with man intombed the whole world. Yet giue me leaue in the last place, to preuent one obiection; for some will say, that if the fall of man should appeare by the light of nature, how should those great Sages and Secretaries of nature (the ancient Philosophers) be so much mistaken? for the Schooles, and all our Diuines hold, that they were deceiued in the state of man, supposing man to be in *paris naturalibus*, without any thought of his fall, without any hope of his recouerie.

I confesse indeede, that the ancient Philosophers haue



haue not mentioned the fall of man, for they did onely looke to the present course and order of nature; as, liuing in the middest of Egypt, they considered Nilus, the depth of the waters, the violence of the streame, the ebbings and flowings, but they regarded not the passage into the sea, nor yet could trace the head of the fountaine: they might consider man, though not in the wombe, nor yet in the graue, for euery knowledge may presuppose her owne subiect, and euery Science hath her proper bounds and limitations; the knowledge of nature might presuppose the existencie of nature, and not intermeddle or be ouer curious to prie into the first composition, or dissolution of nature; their silence or neglect herein, can bee no error, though an imperfection.

A Science may  
presuppose her  
owne subiect.

Suppose man to bee borne in a prison, where hee should neuer receiue the sweete light of the Sunne, or the free libertie of himselfe, but liued in continuall darknesse and slauerie; could this man possibly conceiue the happie state and condition of those, who liue at their freedome? No certainly, for priuations are onely knowne in relation to their habits. The Philosophers were not vnlike the dwellers of Sodom, whose darknesse was such, that being abroad in the streetes, they could not finde their owne houses: and yet I will doe them no wrong, for howsoeuer they could not expressly and punctually speake of mans fall, yet many opinions in Philosophie seeme to intimate as much in effect.

The fall of mā  
is intimated in  
Philosophie.

The Platonikes, who were the more ancient Philosophers, and borrowed certaine mysteries from the Hebrewes, which they kept sacred and secret to themselves; though otherwise they knew neither sense nor meaning of those mysteries, held these three positions inuiolably, all which doe necessarily inforce the fall of man. First, that there were, *Idae*, abstracted and separated

*J. S. 101*



The separated  
Idea of the  
Platonikes.

ted formes, according to whose image and likenesse, things were ordained here vpon earth: the ground of this opinion, is take out of Gen. 1. where God in his framing of man, speakes these words; *Let vs make man according to our owne image.* Now supposing man to be made according to Gods image, according to such a separated Idea, hee should be wholly spirituall, incorruptible, conformable to God. But considering man to be carnall, sensuall, an enemy and stranger to God, following the inclination of his flesh, and wholly tending to corruption; assuredly he is fallen, and much degenerated from that high state and dignitie, wherein hee was first created from the beginning.

The transmi-  
gration of  
soules.

After the framing and constitution of man, the Platonikes did consider in the next place, the transmigration of soules from bodies to bodies, not from man vnto beast; for here the different kinds doe betoken different soules, which require different organes and instruments, that so they might be fitted and proportioned for the right vse and exercise of their faculties. This transmigration hath vndoubtedly some reference to the first infusion of mans soule, & *inspirauit deus spiraculum vite*: and this opinion doth necessarily presuppose, & is grounded vpon mans fall; y seeing there is no proportion, or agreement between the flesh & the spirit, (as the case now stands), therefore there was a bodie in the state of innocencie, more capable of this reasonable soule; the body changing, the soule did likewise change her habitation and dwelling; one and the same body being altered, one and the same soule did find her place of abode to be altered, here was a transmigration; and at the last day, when this body sown in corruption, shall rise againe in incorruption, & be made a spirituall body, better besitting the dignitie & state of the soule, here shall be a new transmigration, still of one and the selfe



selfe same soule; and therefore acknowledge the present condition of man to bee the fall of man, some punishment or imprisonment of man, that the soule should be enforced to take her flight, to vse a transmigration, and to change the place of her dwelling.

Now for the principall action of the soule, it is our knowledge or vnderstanding: The Platonikes held, that *cognitio nostra est reminiscencia*, our learning or knowledge is only a kind of remembrance; supposing that man had formerly some naturall knowledge, as all other creatures haue, though it was lost by some ill accident, and therefore must be renewed againe, as it were called to minde, or better remembred by learning; yet certainly we had it, for otherwise we should finde farre greater difficultie in regaining and retaining such an inestimable iewell: and though this may seeme very displeasing to *Aristotle*, who desired to build vp his fame, in the ruines of *Plato* (the scholler treads on his schoole-master); yet doe not his followers say as much in effect, *anima est rasa tabula? rasa est, ergo insculpta fuit*: Who shaued it? who scrapte it? what image is lost? See heere the prouidence of God, lest wee should denie, or forget our owne fall and corruption: therefore the fall and corruption of man, appears in the forgetfulnes of man.

From the Platonikes, I will come to the Schooles of the famous and thrice renowned *Aristotle*, and heere I doe ingeniously, and truly confesse, that whatsoeuer I haue spoken, for the prooffe of mans fall, and of natures corruption, I haue only borrowed it from the grounds and foundations of his learning; so that this whole treatise, may not improperly bee ascribed to him, onely the errors excepted, which I claime as being due vnto my selfe. To proue mans fall out of his grounds, were to repeate all; I will therefore heere insist in those things,

Our learning  
is a kinde of re-  
membrance.



y<sup>e</sup> Soul is a blotted  
& blur'd Table:  
Therefore it was once  
well print<sup>ed</sup>.

Prooffes out of  
*Aristotles* Phi-  
losophie.



Metaphysica. Dicitur a  
 meta trans supra ultra  
 II. Φυσικα. Naturalia  
 Bonum est  
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which seeme to be most generall, and therein *Aristotle* shall speake for himselfe. First for the Metaphysicks, speaking of things most generall, which the Philosophers call *transcendentia*; *bonum*, the goodnesse of a creature is numbred and accounted with the rest: and looking to the first institution of nature, nothing is so common and triuiall in Philosophie, as is this axiome, *ens & bonum conuertuntur*; whatsoeuer is, is good, according to the approbation of God, in the first of Gen. & *vidit deus, & erant omnia valde bona*: and yet notwithstanding, the Philosophers did acknowledge, that there was *malum, malitia, defectus, deformitas, monstrum*, and the like, and these to be incident to nature her self; and these to be knowne onely in relation to the goodnesse, according to the distance or accessse, hauing no entitie in themselves, and therefore not able to bee the grounds of our knowledge, which presupposeth a naturall being: Rom. 7. 7. *I had not knowne sinne, but by the law*. These euils (I say) being no *transcendentia*, they could not be so generall, or equal in time to nature, and therefore they are the punishments of nature, and haue crept into nature, since the first institution thereof.

From the Metaphysicks I will come to naturall Philosophie, where I will onely in a word touch the first principles. I would gladly demand, why *privatio* should be numbred as one of the three first principles of nature? for priuation hath reference to the act, and first presupposeth the act; how then can it be one of the first principles? there should haue been (I confesse) an absolute negation, according to the condition of a creature, as being made of nothing, & nothing includes a negation; but a priuation is, *when a thing is capable to be, and ought to be, but is not*. Therefore priuation being numbred among the principles, supposeth that all things should haue been, and should haue much sooner attained

Why priuation  
 should be one  
 of the first  
 principles.

Lack  
 want  
 a thing

lack



ned the height of their perfection, and not so leisurely haue proceeded by degrees, as now they do; were it not that some curse had altered the course of nature, whereby that, which formerly was onely a bare negation, should now be conceiued to be a naturall priuation.

From the huge Continent of nature, let vs draw neerer home, and discouer the vnknowne region of the reasonable soule: alas how few sparkes of reason doe appeare in this reasonable soule? The Philosophers thinke it to be a table-booke, wherein nothing is written; and looking more narrowly, they finde indeede some blinde characters, certaine obscure, darke, hidden, secret notions, which are the principles of al our knowledge: As for example, *Contradictoria non possunt esse simul vera: Omne totum est maius sua parte*, and such like palpable verities, which in my iudgement seeme rather to belong to the cognizance of common sense, then of the reasonable soule. And hence it is, that there is much more difficultie in adorning the inward minde, and couering the nakednesse of the soule, then in the outward members, and shame of the body. Thus at length all Arts and Sciences in generall, seeme to suppose this for their ground-worke and foundation; that in regard of mans fall, and his ignorance, contracted by his fall, therefore necessitie inforced the occasion of their births and beginnings. And hence it is, that those long courses of studie, those night-watchings and great labours in the Vniuersities, are only vndertaken to supply natures defects.

We haue no naturall voyce, no naturall tongue, wee cannot speake to the vnderstanding of each other, but Grammar must direct vs and teach vs construction; our soule, though reasonable and discursive, yet wants she the helpe of Logicke, to ranke things in their seuerall order, to knit them together in a proposition, & thence



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Grammar: w

Logicke: w

De Logic  
& Rhetor  
vide p. 51.



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Grammar: w<sup>+</sup>

Logicke: w<sup>+</sup>

De Logic  
 & Rhetor  
 vide p. 51.



Rhetoricke: w<sup>t</sup>  
Mathematickes:

what

Metaphysicks:

what

The studie of  
naturall Philo-  
sophie suppo-  
seth our natu-  
rall ignorance.

to draw the inference or conclusion. Man, as if he were a sauage and wilde creature, cannot speake pleasingly with a smooth phrase, and gracious deliuerie, as is befitting the sociable nature of man, without the helpe and vse of Rhetoricke. Mathematickes must teach him, how God hath framed his works in number, in weight, and in measure; the consideration whereof, seemes to haue been the principall intent and scope of our creation. The Metaphysicks will attempt to discourse of first mouers, intelligences, and separated soules; yet in truth and veritie, they doe but onely point at them, and so leaue them with a Superseedeas, acknowledging natures infirmitie, and that the due cognizance of them, doth not properly belong to that Court,

And whereas God hath giuen all things, for our vse and seruice, certainly it stood with the same wisdom and goodnesse of God, to discouer and lay open the vse: let vs not conceiue God like an vnwise and negligent father, who left indeed behinde him great quantitie of treasure, but so buried and concealed, that it neuer turned to the profit of his heire; to giue an vnknowne iewell, though it be a sufficient argument of bountie, yet it seemes to detract from the wisdom of the giuer. Suppose an Apothecaries shop were furnisht with exquisite drugges, yet if the boxes want names for direction, or there want a Physitian to prescribe the medicine; it is to be feared, that in such a confusion, poison should be taken for cordials. The principall proprietie and substance of euery thing consists in the vse, without due knowledge of the thing, there can bee no vse: and therefore it stood with the same diuine wisdom, as to giue the creatures outwardly to supply our necessitie and delight; so inwardly in the minde, to imprint a due knowledge, how man should vse and dispose them. Euery other facultie hath this knowledge

and

Natur  
write  
name  
all things  
in Nature

{ giue notions  
to y mind.



and instinct toward his object; the eye easily conceiveth all colours, and in a moment, without further advice, judgeth of them by their outward appearance: all other creatures know what is profitable to themselves, only the reasonable man is the fool, he is defective, and therefore must intend a long course of Philosophy, to supply his owne wants. Howsoever, I doe commend naturall Philosophie, above all other humane Arts and Sciences; yet I have often wondred, that after so long a time of studie, (sixe thousand yeeres experience, for so long the world hath continued), that there should bee such imperfection, such want of knowledge, such contrariety of opinions, in such a noble and most excellent Science.

But if wee shut our eyes, not looking to other creatures, but returning to our selves, wee shall finde farre greater cause to complaine & lament; the soule, though otherwise an understanding nature, yet she knowes not her selfe, but by reflection; she knowes not her owne beginning, nor her faculties and actions, nor the extent and bounds of her essence. Blessed God, were it not sufficient, that all other creatures should bee unknowne, but that the soule must bee covered, and concealed from her selfe? Herein appeares an admirable guile and subtiltie, which well argues the high wisdom and iustice of God: for as the first sinne was the immoderate and presumptuous desire of knowledge; *erit is sicut di sciens bonum & malum*; so God in reuenge of this sinne, *contraria curans contrarijs*, punisheth man with the heauie yoke of ignorance, yea, of the ignorance of himselfe; which herein seemes to bee more intolerable, considering that man still retaines, as the same corrupt nature, so the same immoderate desire of knowledge. Let the naturalist here confesse, that since God hath herein been more mercifull

The imperfection of Philosophie.

The reasonable and understanding soule knowes not her selfe.



to other creatures, then vnto man, therefore this hath befallen man since the first institution of his nature, as a punishment for some offence: and since euery facultie hath reference and some knowledge of his object, vndoubtedly our blindnesse and ignorance is a particular case, contrarie to the generall-current and course of nature; and nature will not varie her course, without great and iust occasion: the beleeuing man will easilie acknowledge this, considering that *Adam* before his fall, was able to giue a name to euery creature, answerable to his propertie; and the vnbeleeuing man, by the light of his owne reason, shall be inforced to the same confession.

Giue me yet leaue to insist in one thing; Nature hath made man aboue all other creatures, the most sociable, (as appeares) in that man cannot subsist without a common-wealth, without lawes, without gouernment, and the like; and yet in this one poynt of association, you shall finde man, aboue all other creatures the most vtractable: hence it is, that hee must frame and square out his life by art, morall Philosophie must guide and direct him; for if yee looke into the soule, ye shall onely finde one generall and obscure principle, which is this in effect, *quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris*, doe not that to another, which thou wouldest not haue done to thy selfe; whereas all other creatures doe accompanie together, without any teaching or precepts of arts, onely by their owne naturall inclination. Thus then you see, that the foundation of all arts and sciences seemes to lay this for a ground-worke, *the fall and corruption of man*; that notwithstanding his birth-right, the dignitie of his nature, the high prerogatiue of his state; yet in most of his actions, you shall finde him much defective, farre inferior to the condition of all other creatures, cleane contrarie to the common course and current

8

Morall Philosophie  
supposeth mans fall.



rent of nature, and therefore you cannot conceiue, but that his corruption hath crept into nature since the first institution thereof.

Not onely the occasion and first grounds of all sciences and arts doe testifie mans fall, but likewise many particular opinions doe poynt out this truth (whereof I will forbear to speake); assuredly they had an implicite knowledge concealed as a misterie, though not openly knowne in expresse termes: for otherwise you should neuer heare such complaints and accusations made against nature; that she was a step-mother, and rather intended the destruction of man, then to commiserate the poore wretched estate of man. You should neuer haue scene them so much abhorre the actions of nature, as it were ashamed of their owne nature; for not onely the faithfull and beleeuing men haue hated and detested their owne flesh, struggling and contending with nature; even here in her owne denne, denying vnto themselves all the pleasures and delights of this world; but likewise Heathen, Pagans, Infidels, they haue beene in some sort (as I may so say) very mortified men, and God hath rewarded them accordingly: whether it were for our example, the rather to stirre vs vp to the like actions; or God louing the thing, hee did likewise loue the shadow of it, and reward it with temporall happinesse, which is the shadow of our true happinesse. Thus it pleaseth God to requite morall vertues with morall blessings; the Midwiues of Egypt for sparing the Israelites, they shall finde fauour, &c. If some there were who did delight in vncleannesse, and would denie the corruption, then here acknowledge the corruption of man, in this deniall of his corruption; that he is borne in a prison, borne in darkenesse, that as yet he hath neuer scene light, or tasted any true happinesse; and therefore supposeth his owne flauish and base condition, to bee the

The complaint  
of Philoso-  
phers against  
nature.

Affectu dantis  
penat censura Tonantis  
Ioue more esteeme Man z  
willing mind  
Than all mans gifts  
for loue doth byrd



The Metaphysicks are very imperfect.

How nature is corrupted appears by Chemicall operations.

the height and scope of his birth-right: and surely God for the punishment of mans curiositie, hath so fitly ordained it, that the knowledge of nature should be fully and exactly perfected by some higher knowledge (*sacred Theologie*) which he himself would reueale. As you see, there is an order in arts, the principles of one are here presupposed, yet confirmed by the strength of a superior art, which as a Lady or mistres directs the inferior; for it cannot bee denied, but that of all other parts of Philosophie, the Metaphysicks (wherein the fall of man together with the institution of his nature, might fitly haue been handled) are the most imperfect; in so much, that in reading the Metaphysicks, we seeme to leese *Aristotle* in *Aristotles* owne workes; and since his time, not any man (to my knowledge) was euer able to reduce the Metaphysicks, to the strict forme of a Science.

From the theorie of Philosophie, let vs come to the practicall part; it is not vnknowne to the Chimicks in their distillations (whose office it is, *secernere purum ab impuro, validum ab inualido*, to make a separation of such things as corrupted nature hath already vnited, either of the good substance from the dross, or of the wholesome and sound medicine from the poysonous infection) that all malignitie and poyson consists onely in the vpper crust of things, *in rerum superficie*; the deeper you diue into the substance of any creature, the more you shall acknowledge the goodnesse and perfection of the creature: as if they did discern in nature, that all things in their owne proper essence were good, not onely as they are creatures, but as they are ordained for mans vse and seruice; in their owne roote, and in their first ground of nature they are freed and priueledged from all poyson and infection; only some after-chance, some ill husbandman came, who after the sowing of the good wheate, did sowe his own cockle. Thus the



the euill in nature, could not together subsist with the first ordination of nature: for prooſe whereof you ſhall obſerue, that the firſt thing which euaporates, and cannot by any meanes endure the triall of the fire, is that poyſonous matter, which flies at firſt ſight, at the firſt approach and encounter, as being guiltie to it ſelfe, harboured in anothers neſt, and therefore dares not iuſtifie it ſelfe; deſiring to auoide the purſuite and chafe, and to ſaue it ſelfe with his owne flight. And hence it is, that all the preparation of our meate, not onely for the rawneſſe, but likewiſe for the poyſon and infection, is to be performed by the uſe and miniſterie of fire; as it were prefiguring, that at the generall combuſtion of this world, there ſhould bee the purifying and cleaning of all the elements, every thing ſhall be refined, fire it ſelfe ſhall be purged by fire, and nature ſhall bee reſtored to her firſt perfection and integritie.

Thus by the Chemicall operations it appeares, that the euill and poyſon of creatures hath polluted nature, ſince the firſt institution thereof; now if you pleaſe to compare theſe good and euill qualities together, it will be manifeſt, that the euill hath farre ſurpaſſed the good by many degrees; and therefore doe vndoubtedly conclude, that whole nature is corrupted, for in their extractions, their beſt and pureſt ſubſtance hath onely a limited goodneſſe, and ſerues onely for ſome uſe and purpoſes; but for the drotte, or ill ſubſtance, they deeme it wholly vnprofitable: and had it not beene a former ſubieſt, to vphold the better qualities; were it not, as a ſtocke, reſerued to fill vp ſome place and roome in nature, they would iudge it to be ſimplie euill. And thus by their Chemicall workes they doe eaſily diſcerne that this euill hath crept into nature; and being once admitted and harboured in nature, this euill ſeemes in a large meaſure, to overflowe and ſurpaſſe the better qualities of

Chimiftrie  
ſhewes the o-  
uerflowing  
of euill.



Proöfes of the  
fall of Man  
borrowed  
from Poetrie.

of nature; yet here is our comfort, that as wee are able by the force and violence of fire, to separate the drosse from the good substance, so this euill which hath now corrupted nature, is not of the essence of nature, but nature shall at length subsist, by vertue of Gods powerfull and quickening spirit, without this her malignitie.

As the Philosophers afforded some proofes of this fall, deriued from the reasonable soule, her faculties, and all the workes of nature; so for the body and sense, I will make bolde to borrow some arguments from the Poets; who were indeede their ancient and first diuines, such as were best acquainted with the religion of the Heathen, and hence they are called, *diuini Poeta*: many of their fables had some reference to the truth of a historie in scripture; for as truth is most ancient, so falsehood would seeme to bee the shadow of truth, and to accompanie her; thus all their sacrifices and rites carried some shew and resemblance of the sacrifices and ceremonies ordained by *Moses*. As for example, among the Iewes themselves, you shall finde some spice of this corruption; a brasen serpent was appointed as a meanes to cure their wounds, and they fell at length to worship this Serpent; a Calfe was slaine in sacrifice to pacifie God, and in token hereof, they set vp a golden Calfe for idolatrie: now if this happened to the Iewes (Gods chosen people), who had the custodie of the law, together with a continued succession of Prophets; then what might be thought of the Gentiles? let vs therefore search among their Poets, what proofes and evidences there are yet extant of mans fall and corruption.

Certaine it is that they deriued their lineage from the Gods, and they generally held that the soule was *diuina particula aura*; and yet immediatly they forbear not to speake of the warres, which past betweene the gods and the gyants, which well argues the opposition and defiance



defiance betweene the heauen and the earth; as likewise of the strange opposition betweene the flesh and the spirit, wherein the flesh seemes to conquer and vanquish, (hauing the stronger faction, and being more powerfull ouer the will & inclination of man), — *video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor*. And generally for the whole state of man, it was the common complaine of those times, that the world did daily degenerate, *Ætas parentum peior auis, tulit nos nequiores mox daturos progeniem vitiosiore*: when the Poets so often mention the golden age, what doe they else, but point out the state of mans first happinesse, integritie, and innocencie? there they did conuerse with their gods, for their gods did inhabit in groues, gardens, and fountaines, as if man did then leese God, when hee left the garden of Paradise; *quorum nascuntur in hortis numina*, this is not to be vnderstoode of garlike or onions, but whose gods are as ancient, as was their state in the garden; then men were numbred among the gods, to shew the conformitie of their wils, or as our diuines holde, there should haue been no death in Paradise, but some happie translation: then men liued free from the sweate of their browes, *contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis*; there was a sweete contentment and quiernesse of minde, free from the disturbance of the bodie, the fruites of the earth were not gotten with labour, nature was not inforced, the creation did still seeme to be continued in the production of creatures.

Would yee see the first sin of the first man, shadowed forth in a fable? *Dadatus* would needes be flying, but his wings were melted with heate, and great was his fall: man in the pride of his owne heart, would eleuate and raise himselfe aboue the state and condition wherein he was first created; *eritis sicut dij*, yee shall be like Gods, here is the height or exaltation which hee

aimes

The golden age did signifie Paradise.

The first sinne is shadowed forth in many of their fables.

ye shall not be Dyn like wise Gods as ye sought to be: but ye shall Dy lyke y  
repent: & like y beasts of the fild: as ye do worthily deserue: for your proud  
aspiring minds: & therefore ye shall not be translated from Death  
ye should haue been: if ye had kept my Comandement.



Advancing  
et. great  
liberty  
Inueter  
Promethy

Witty Prometheus  
climbs to Heaven  
Thence he steals fyre  
& robs the seauen:  
Therefore y world  
is plagued since  
With feauers and  
sharp pestilence.

8 Prometheus is  
brother of  
Great Athlas & his Troian  
sons  
They rob y Earth: & he y hea  
uens  
Therefore y world rose all in  
arms  
& spoild faire Troy with swo  
y scapes were banisht flame  
& wide  
Elsewhere to seek a place to  
by de  
Neptun & Iano did them  
But Ioue & Venus dis  
spite  
them right

The conclu  
sion of this  
third part.

aimes at; now marke his downefall, *præcipitium*, the  
breakenecke of man, yee shall not <sup>be</sup> dy, but die like the  
beasts of the fielde; here is the fruite of his pride, but  
where is the curiositie of his knowledge? *Promethæus*  
steales fire from Heauen, fire may fitly be resembled to  
knowledge, it kindleth, it lighteneth, it purgeth, and is  
the highest and purest element; these properties may  
well be agreable to knowledge, though not to the cu  
riositie of knowledge, but marke the event, *Hinc nona*  
*febrium terris incubuit cohors*, as if the sentence were  
past, *morte morieris*, thou shalt die the death, here you  
see man in himselfe. Now for the rebellion of the crea  
tures, *Actæon* having seene *Diana*, the goddesse of  
wisdome naked with her nimphes, straight he becomes  
a prey to his owne dogges; now for the nature of man,  
how it is altered and changed, *Deucalion* is said to haue  
made men of the stones; here you may see a new  
mould, a hard and flintie complexion: to conclude, ob  
serue their pleasures in the Elisian fields, and you shall  
finde some reference to the garden of Paradise; obserue  
their paines in hell, and you shall see the punishment of  
sinne set forth in a glasse: wherefore should this be as  
signed vnto *Tantalus*, *ut poma fugacia caperet*? were it  
not for the iustice and satisfaction of some offence,  
committed in the vniust vsurpation of some forbidden  
fruite.

Thus I hope by the light of our corrupted reason, it  
hath already sufficiently appeared, not onely to vs Chri  
stians, to whom our vndoubted beleefe, which first wee  
receiued by faith, might in proceffe of time seeme a na  
turall knowledge, and so wholly possesse man, as if it  
were imprinted in mans owne heart; but likewise to the  
ancient Philosophers, who were without the know  
ledge of the true God, by the force of their owne  
reason; as likewise to the ancient Poets, in their  
fables

idg  
prou  
dentia



fables and shadowes, hauing first receiued it by tradition; that many things doe daily befall man, which could not happen in the first integritie and institution of his nature: and were they not inflicted on man, as the iust punishments of sin, it could not stand with the goodnesse and iustice of the Deitie, to impose them. The consideration whereof may fitly informe vs, first, of the state wherein we are fixed, a miserable and sinfull state; and the hope of our happinesse whereunto euery man should aspire, not to consist within the precincts of this earthly tabernacle; but to extend it selfe to a more eminent state of a higher nature and condition: secondly, reason discerning mans fall, it may serue as an abatement to our pride, that we might not presume too farre to prie into the high mysteries of Christian religion; considering that corruption hath ouerwhelmed the whole man, together with all his faculties both sensuall and intellectuall; and therefore hee cannot raise himselfe of himselfe, when as the ground-worke and foundation which sustaines the whole building, is wholly corrupted: thirdly, as the first fall of man gaue way and occasion to the whole course of Christian religion; so reason discerning this fall, giues some testimonie to our Christian faith, and as farre forth as shee can, laies the foundation, prepares the way to religion; that so the truth of nature might beare witnesse to the truth of grace, the one supporting the other, the one tending and ending in the other.

Here I can do no lesse, then magnifie the wonderfull prouidence and goodnesse of God: for as the knowledge of a disease is the first degree to the cure; so man by his owne nature, seeing and discerning the corruption of his nature, loathing, abhorring, and detesting this corruption, might take some dislike with himselfe; seeke for some helpe, search for remedie and ease, en-

D d

quire

How this corruption of nature serues to instruct vs.



quire for the Physitian. Hee that opened our eyes to see the corruption, certainly intended our cure: can wee conceiue in reason that wee should bee thus left to our selues, left destitute of all possible meanes to relieue vs? that God in his mercy (hauing first made vs of nothing) should, notwithstanding that mercy, suffer vs againe to fall vnto nothing? it cannot be, it cannot be, here then I will first conceiue hope, and rousing vp my spirits, I will say with the Prophet, Ieremie 8.22. *Nonne est resina in Gilead?* Is there not balme at Gilead? Though I am inwardly sicke at the heart (for all the faculties and powers of my soule are corrupted); though I am outwardly sore wounded (for all the actions of my bodie are tainted); yet here is my comfort, there is balme in Gilead, there is balme in Gilead, and balme hath this propertie, that it may bee taken both inwardly as a so-ueraigne medicine to heale my maladies, and outwardly it may bee poured into my wounds, as an excellent salve, to cure my infirmities; here then I see there are sufficient meanes for my recouerie, why should I perish? But where at length shall I finde the Physitian? Mee thinkes I am borne blinde, conceiued in sinne and iniquitie: and I may truly say with the Iewes, Iohn 9.32. *Since the beginning of the world it was neuer heard, that any man did euer open the eyes of him that was borne blinde.* I must therefore ascend to some higher power, and if I looke vp to the Angels, they cannot iustifie themselves, *In angelis suis inuenit malitiam*, God spared not the Angels which had sinned, 2.Pet. 2.4; and euen the best of them are but messengers, and ministring spirits: I will rather goe to the fountaine, *For where should I finde refuge, but under the shadow of thy wings, (O blessed Lord God)? now in this time of darknesse, this time of corruption, wash mee with hysope and I shall bee whiter then snow; cleanse me from all my sinnes, my secret sinnes,*



sinnes, the sinnes of my youth, the sinnes of my nature,  
which together haue increased with the hayres of my  
head, with the minutes of my age: leade me forth in thy  
waies, let thy word bee a lanterne vnto my feete, and a  
light vnto my pathes, and with thy powerfull assistance  
keepe mee from falling. O blessed Lord God write thy  
lawes in the tables of my heart; binde them as chaines to  
my necke, as bracelets to my armes: stirre up and streng-  
then my weake faith, that I may know thee to be the onely  
true God, and Iesus Christ (whom thou hast sent) to be the  
onely propitiation for our sinnes; hee is the word of thy  
truth, the word begotten in thy understanding, from all  
eternitie; thy onely begotten Sonne; the wisdom and  
power of the Godhead: now at length, in the fulnesse of  
time, become the sonne of man; God in our flesh, made like  
vnto vs in all things (sinne onely excepted), whom thou  
hast appoynted, whom thou hast prepared, before the  
face of all people, to be a light to enlighten  
the Gentiles, and to be the glo-  
rie of thy people  
Israell.

*Deo gratias.*

*Dd 2*

*The*





## *The Corollarie.*

Why the Author adioyned this Corollary.

**I**N the former treatise I did not only tie my self to speake of the Subject, which was  $\gamma$  fall of Man, the generall corruptiō of nature, how creatures haue declined by degrees since their first beginning, and institution ; but likewise to proceed in such manner & forme, as that my proofes might serue to inforce the naturall man by the light of his owne reason, to confesse his owne corruption. Now lest I might seeme to be wanting, or defectiue to my intended scope; lest I might seeme to confound the fall of man, with the manner, circumstances, and accidencies of his fall and tentation; therefore I thought fit to ioyne this present Corollarie to the Treatise, making it to differ from the rest of the parts: for here I must ingeniously and truly confesse; though mans knowledge discerneth his fall, yet by the same knowledge he cannot possibly conceiue the manner of his fall. For in Christian religion, such things as belong to our knowledge, I will ranke in three seuerall orders: First, some things there are wherein nature her selfe may informe vs, *viz.* to condemne the corruption of our owne flesh, to practise the Morall law, &c. Secondly, some things there are, which though not appearing to reason at first sight, yet being supposed, and examined by reason, they shal be found most probable, and



and most agreeable to the grounds of reason. Thirdly, some things are of a higher degree, much above the reach or comprehension of reason, as are the secret and hidden mysteries of faith; and heerein reason being naturally taught to humble her selfe, shal acknowledge her owne darknesse, and these things infinitely to transcend her naturall power.

To the second ranke and condition of things, I will referre the manner of mans fall, which reason cannot apprehend of her selfe, for it supposeth matter of historie; and this wee receiue not by our owne discourse reason, but only by report and tradition from others. In this historicall narration of mans fall, we must conceiue the free-will and election of God; which being no way determinated, might impose lawes at his pleasure; then the free consent of mans will, which according to the circumstances, and present occasions, might incur the breach of those lawes; for punishment whereof, the iustice of God might bee allaied and tempered with mercie, according to Gods owne appointment, without any certaine measure or rule. Thus many wayes supposing the free-will, and election, both in the lawgiuer, and in the offender, in the inuisible God, and in the visible creature; we can no more iudge of our selues, or (as I may so say) prophecy of their forepassed actions, then others can now probably gesse or coiecture at our future contingent euent; for things which are not limited in nature, reason cannot prescribe a certaine determinate course, for their limitation.

As in generall for the whole scope and truth of Christian religion, so in particular for this, and all other accidents, notwithstanding our ignorance, yet the vnconstant and wauering minde of man, may finde staiednes, and be safely built vpon a sure rocke and foundation; examining those grounds and assurances, which wee

Dd 3

Why by our reason we can not conceiue the manner of mans fall.

B: ergo Things limited in Nature: haue a certaine determinat course for their limitation

How we may be assured of the manner of mans fall.

haue



How we must  
expect mira-  
cles.

haue for our Christian faith, whereby the naturall and distrustfull man, is fully resolued and perswaded by signes, working of miracles, euents of prophecies, truth of histories, succession of times, the immediate and special prouidence of God, whereby his Church hath continually been preserued, and all other sects and schismes scattered and dissolued, and could neuer endure the touch-stone; inso much that I may well say with *Gamaliel*, *Act. 5. 39. If this truth be of God, then who can resist it?* Whereunto I will adde the generall consent and verdict of the whole world, of Iewes, Gentiles, Turkes &c. when as religion her selfe, makes but one body of faith; the seuerall parts and mysteries whereof, as they are directed to each other, so they serue to strengthen each other. I shall not neede to bring miracles to confirme euery point of our faith; much lesse must wee expect miracles vpon all occasions, for this were to tempt and prouoke God; we must make a difference betweene laying the first foundations, and the continuance of the building: the needle must first passe thorow, that the thread may follow after, and thē there is no further vse of the needle. Miracles must first introduce faith, and lay the foundation; then must the building be perfected, by the practise of pietie and deuotion; if wee should continually expect miracles, then faith should lose her reward, as *S. Gregorie* saith, *Fides non habet meritum, cui humana ratio indies prabet experimentum.* Doeſt thou still desire to be an eye-witnesse of miracles, and yeldest nothing to the report and relation of others? heerein thou must condemne thine own falsehood, when thou canst not require that others should giue more credit to thee, then thou doeſt to others; though miracles haue sailed, yet wonders are stil extant; for a wonder it is to see thy infidelitie, as *Saint Augustine* saith, *Si quis adhuc prodigia (vt credat) inquirat,*



*quirit, magnum prodigium est qui mundo credente non credit.*

For the manner of mans fall, as I purpose to giue full contentment to the naturall man, as farre foorth as it lies in my power; so it shall appeare that nothing therein is related by *Moses*, which might any way seeme absurd or improbable; and in many things, I will vse the same weapons of reason, which formerly I haue done; that so by demonstratiue arguments, I might satisfie the vnbeleeuing man. First for the vndoubted truth of our creation, that the world was created of nothing, which in effect is to proue that there is a God, & a Maker: as euery thing in nature will necessarily inforce a creation, so euery argument and prooffe in mans braine, will easily conuince this truth. I doe heartily wish, that my tongue may cleaue to the rooffe of my mouth, if euer I be found destitute of arguments in this kind; and let my right hand forget her cunning, if I be not able in euery creature to poynt out the footsteps of the Deitie. In this infinite number of arguments, I will onely make choice of these foure, which I suppose to be inuincible, to confirme this truth: First, if it seemes strange to mans vnderstanding (which as it is a naturall vnderstanding, so doth it onely respect the present course and order of nature) that a thing should be the cause of his owne being, and having no beginning of existencie, should deriue his roote from eternitie. Then certainly in things which are inconuenient, the least inconuenience is to be admitted in reason: either euery thing in his owne kinde, must be the cause and author of his owne being; or onely one thing, which being infinite, and all sufficient in it selfe, must giue a nature and essence to all other existing creatures. Now as is the difference betweene many and one, so is the inconuenience lesse, and therefore to be admitted in reason.

D d 4

Secondly,

Prooffes of the  
Deitie and the  
creation.



Reason in vn-  
reasonable  
creatures.

Secondly, things onely sensible seeme to worke according to reason: The birds in building their nests, in making their prouision, against the hard season; the wilde beasts in their dennes & their caues, in the choice of their foode, and in a subtiltie and craft for defence of themselves; the stockes and the stones in desiring and seeking their proper places, as being fittest for their preservation; and generally in the dumbe creatures there is a naturall providence and instinct for the protection and gouernment of themselves: heere you see the actions of reason, in vnreasonable creatures, which therefore cannot proceed from themselves; neither are these in themselves alone, but likewise in relation to others. Thus one thing seemes to bee ordained for another, euery facultie hath his seuerall obiect proportioned to it selfe; and in euery kinde there is a difference of sexe, the one being fitted and referred to the other. The Sunne is in continuall motion, yet not for his owne vse, neither knowes hee the vse of his motion, being a bare and a dumbe instrument, yet still he moues, for the good of this inferiour world: and therefore these things subsist not of themselves seuerally, but were thus constituted, and appointed by some higher supereminent and intellectuall Agent, who did foresee and ordain the power of each other, and had the perfect knowledge of both, that so the inuisible Deitie might appeare by the visible creatures.

Impossibilities  
in the worlds  
eternitie.

Thirdly, supposing that the world had no beginning, but that all things were from eternitie; then must it follow, that whereas the course of the Sunne contains thirteene revolutions of the Moone, yet the Sunne should haue as often finisht his course, as the Moone hath changed her countenance; for both should be infinite, which indeed implies such a contradiction & impossibilitie in nature, such as cannot be admitted. Againe,



gaine, in this inferiour world, supposing the eternitie, no reason can be assigned of that difference, which appears in neighbour and bordering countries, lying vnder the same climate; that one part should abound with mines, more then another; or should be fitter to nourish wilde and fierce beasts, more then another; the temper and mould of the earth should be the same, the properties the same, the qualities the same, as lying in the same situation and distance from the heavens; and yet notwithstanding there appears a great diuersitie, which wee cannot ascribe to any other subordinate cause, but onely to the roote and first institution of nature, that things were thus created different from the beginning.

Fourthly, euery thing giuing it selfe his owne being, should consequently giue vnto it selfe the best being: thus if the creatures should subsist of themselves, there should bee no further comparison among themselves, but all should be best; this comparison should not only be abolished in respect of other creatures, but likewise in respect of their owne parts, some parts should not be inferiour to others, but all should be best. Againe, the qualities of creatures must be all alike bounded: for if you will suppose that any one should be infinite, then all must bee infinite; if any one finite, then all must bee finite; for they must goe together hand in hand by equal paces, and carrie a iust proportion. As for example, suppose that a creature weake and faint in self, should haue an infinite continuance, then certainly would it purchase and get vnto it selfe, by infinite degrees, an infinite strength, and all other qualities should likewise bee infinite: but reason, and daily experience can testifie, that euery creature is bounded in all other qualities, finite in extension, finite in power, finite in goodnesse, and therefore why not finite in continuance? though wee in the shortnes

Accidents  
which would  
follow the  
worlds eterni-  
tie.



The creation  
of the world  
proued by an  
instance.

Shortnes of our own liues, cannot discern the first and last of the creatures. We see likewise, that they haue diuersitie of parts, some more ignoble then others, they cannot adde to their growth, nor helpe their owne imperfections; and in the creatures in generall, there is a center, there is a circumference, there is a prioritie, and posterioritie; and therefore the creatures cannot thus subsist of themselves, nor cannot subsist from eternitie.

I know not how farre I may presume vpon mine own weaknesse in all other things, but truly (I do perswade my selfe) I could be infinite in this kinde of arguments; after these reasons, I will bring foorth one instance to this purpose. True it is, that there are certaine places here appoynted by nature, for the generation and preservation of things: now if you shall finde any thing (as many things there are out of their own proper wombs) which you cannot conceiue, that the art and industrie of man, could euer displace or transport; then assuredly these things were thus created from the beginning: for by the naturall course, euery thing should containe it selfe within his owne naturall habitation and dwelling. Againe, certaine it is in mines, that where siluer and gold haue anciently been found, in the same place nature was neuer able to recouer her owne strength, and to raise vp new mines, notwithstanding the same disposition of y<sup>e</sup> place, the same climate & euery thing alike: and therefore vndoubtedly these mettals were not onely ingendred by a naturall course; but either the mettals, or at least a fit seede to bring foorth these mettals, was there created from the beginning: and this I conceiue to be the reason, why the East countrie, which was first inhabited, should be so much impouerished in these daies.

If we suppose this world to haue a beginning, that it  
should



should be made by blind chance, that creatures should casually meete, and by good fortune fall into such an excellent order, as now we see things are disposed; for mine owne part, I doe not thinke this opinion deserues the confutation. Supposing then the truth of the creation, I will come to the truth of that creation which is recorded by *Moses*; and this shall appeare besides all the miracles and wonders, wrought for the confirmation therof, by the iust time appointed for the creation, and by the course and order obserued in the creation. If I shall reduce all things to a generall deluge, it is the same in effect, as if I should bring them to the first creation; for the same author relates both, hee deserues a like credit in both, signes were wrought in testimonie of both, the same omnipotent power did equally appeare in both. Now for the time, wee must come to the concent of histories, if you please to remember the most ancient and first languages, as Hebrew, Chaldaike, &c. and how other tongues doe borrow some proprietie from the: if you will consider the first Monarchies and gouernments, how nations haue issued out of nations, and haue deriued their customes and manners; if you will obserue where the world first began to be inhabited, and how vpo the multiplying of people, men were inforced to seeke out forraine habitations; together with the inuentions of all Arts and Sciences, which we are able to point out, and their first authors; the building of Cities, Townes, and such other monuments and memorials, which seeme to serue for eternitie; the iust computation of yeeres, and times; the first great battels and warres betweene nations; the first Histories, Philosophers, and Poets which are extant, and such other remarkable accidents; you may vndoubtedly conclude, that all these doe point out one and the same instant time, which serues for the birth and natiuitie of this world;

The prooffe of  
*Moses* his crea-  
tion.

The time of  
*Moses* his crea-  
tion.



An instance to  
proue the time  
of the creatiō.

world; beyond whose circuit and comprehension, no author, no monument, no memorie is extant; and to this iust period of time, all Histories, sacred and prophane, doe together ioyntly conspire, and witnesse one and the same truth of the creation, here described by *Moses*.

There are likewise reliques in nature, which may seeme in some measure to point out the same time of the creation; if yee consider the daily decay of nature, and haue relation to the seuerall degrees of this decay, you may in some sort gesse at the birth and beginning of nature. Suppose wee were vpon the highest mountaines, then thus I would argue; that mountaines vndoubtedly were from the beginning, or at least from the deluge, for since that time the face of the earth was neuer changed or altered. Here I would make a diligent search and inquisition for fountaines, and springs; for so it pleaseth God to moysten the drie and high hills with sweete waters. Now fountaines (I confesse) may both begin and cease in one age; for as many things may cause their production, so many things may stop or hinder their passage; as immoderate drought, great earthquakes, boysterous winds, trenches made by mans labour, the growing vp of young springs, woods, and the like: I would not therefore much insist in the fountaines, but thus I might conclude in reason, that from the beginning, there hath bin alwaies the same fall and descent of waters; then let vs conceiue what furrowes and gutters the fall of waters hath made, and looking to the difference which might happen in any one age, wee cannot suppose, but that the world was created much about that time, which is related by *Moses*.

From the time, I come to the manner of this creation, and Gods order in framing; wherein if I should not impose my selfe silence, I thinke my whole life would

Math. 2. 13. Moraliter instruens ad omnes Sapientia in 166.  
Philosophia Naturalis: ubi assimilatur  
Beth vii. Achos. pob. Achosion: Huiusmodi eloquentia



# The Corollarie.

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would hardly suffice to speake of this Subiect; for here is *seminarium Philosophia*, some things ought to be referred to the honestie, credit, and truth of the reporter. It is not vnknowne to those, who are acquainted with the course of our Vniuersities, that before wee professe Theologie, there is more then a prentiship spent in the studie of humane arts and sciences; especially of Philosophie, for the vpshot and conclusion whereof, wee propose vnto our selues these three seuerall vses: first, to acknowledge the inuisible God, in the visible creatures; to beholde the wisdome, goodnesse, and power of the maker, in the framing and disposing of nature; the workmanship gives testimonie of the workeman, *O all yee Workes of the Lord, blesse yee the Lord, praise him, and magnifie him for ever*: Secondly, to consider how God hath layed the foundations of nature to support the beautifull buildings of grace; wherein consists the agreement, and wherein the opposition; how the dumbe creatures (without change or alteration of their naturall proprietie) are sanctified, and sometimes made the meanes and conduit-pipes of grace, by Gods owne institution, and the powerfull assistance of his spirit: Thirdly, as we desire to confirme the groundes and principles of Philosophie, by the rule and square of Diuinitie; so wee examine all the seuerall miracles of Scripture (which serue for the confirmation of our faith, together with all the mysteries of our faith), by the touchstone of our humane knowledge, to see how farre they are transcendent aboue our naturall reason, and therein to acknowledge the height, breadth, and deapth of Gods vnsearchable wisdome.

Hereupon wee take occasion to examine this great worke of our creation, by the rules and principles of reason; wee doe not speake of the absolute power of God, whereby all things were created of nothing; we

*Felix qui potuit rerū cognoscere Causas* doe

Three vses of Philosophie.

1 Naturalis philosophia

2 Moralis philosophia

3 Rationalis philosophia

The wight y could all Cawez scan: Gwyn i byd a betro datcan.  
Might count himselfe a happy man. Beth yw Achos: pob Achosio.

Math. 2. 1. Moraliter instruens ad omnes Sapientia in se  
Philosophia Naturalis: thiri  
Rationalis: mirrh  
Math: 2. 1.  
Beth yw Achos: pob Achosio  
Humane Eloquentie  
Domini offere iubetur  
Dilectum mem



The order observed in *Moses* his creatiō.

doe not dispute of the absolute will of God, who might haue vsed many infinite meanes, and might haue appointed many infinite kindes and infinite degrees of the creatures; but of the conformitie which creatures had in the beginning, to the following and succeeding course of their nature: as for example, that the heauens and the earth should first seuerally be created; how the confused elements were diuided; wherefore was light first ordained, and in the fourth day the celestiaall bodies appointed, and such like. Vpon due deliberation and examination hereof, I dare confidently auouch, that to the iudgement of an heathen man, who hath any knowledge of Philosophie, there could not possibly be a more orderly and methodicall course observed in the creation (such as might well argue one and the same wisdom, power, prouidence in the producing, or birth, which now appeares in the continuance, and preseruatiō of nature), then is here recorded by *Moses*.

There can be but one Creator.

Supposing the necessitie of a creation, there can bee but one Creator, for all nature is directed to one end: the World is circular, which best resembleth the figure of one; all the streames are reduced to one head, all the degrees of things still tend to the highest (there being in nature a prioritie & posteriority), euery gouernment tends and ends in a Monarchie. Nature will not indure many Competitors; order and decencie requires as much in effect, all heate is reduced to one first heate, all bodies to one first bodie. Philosophie beates vpon this axiome, *that nature desires to worke with the fewest instruments*; and therefore euery thing is to bee reduced to the fewest principles: in the constitution of any thing she requires but a couple, for the effecting of any thing one will suffice; to admit of more would rather hinder and distract the worke, then any way further or helpe



helpe the action. Thus to acknowledge one God, the workmanship and fabricke of the whole world will testifie as much in effect; wherein the footesteps and impression of one and the same God, doe most eminently appeare: all of them giuing sufficient demonstration of one and the same wisdom and prouidence, which appeares alike in all, grounding all his workes, and all his actions, vpon the same principles and rules of his owne wisdom. There are not gods of the mountaines, and gods of the vallies, gods of the Land, and gods of the Ocean; for the fishes of the sea, the birds of the ayre, the beasts of the fielde haue alike fashion and forme for their outward feature, and a like inward instinct and prouidence for their course and direction: which similitude of nature must needes proceede from the same grounds of wisdom, the voice and verdict of nature will likewise testifie as much; which (being to admit some infinite power, transcending reason, and the course of all creatures), will therefore tie it selfe to admit of the least inconuenience; rather of one, then of a multitude.

From the generall creation of all things, I come vnto man: that he was created in a more excellent manner, then now he is, it shall not here neede any prooffe; for it was the principall intent and scope of my whole speech. I will forbear to speake of originall grace, vntill I come to our sanctifying grace, which supplies her want: I will passe ouer the degrees of his sinne, vntill I come to the steps in his regeneration: I will not open the wound, vntill I haue already provided the salue; and this I haue reserued for the third branch of my text. Here let vs consider the wisdom of God, that hauing giuen an vndoubted token of his mercy in the creation of man, imparting himselfe according to the nature of goodnesse, *calling those things which were*  
not,

The same wisdom appears in all the creatures.



The end of  
mans crea-  
tion.

*not, as if they were,* inlightening their darkenesse, twith the infinite lampe of his owne light; it stooode with the same wisdome to appoint a law, (since his glorie & our obedience, was the end and scope of our creation; for himselfe being the chiefe and greatest good, all must be directed to him; neither could hee bereaue himselfe of that honour, no more then he could alter or change his owne nature); and thorough the obseruance of that lawe, either to multiplie and increase his owne mercies, in a further confirmation of our blisse and happinesse; or by the breach of that lawe, to giue vs some taste of his iustice, yet so, that the miserie of our fall, might be some further occasion, to manifest his goodnesse. And to this end some things were adioyned, as necessarie and essentiall to our nature, whereof God in his mercy, and in the constancie of his owne will, would neuer bereaue vs; some things againe were added onely as gifts and as ornaments, without which our nature might subsist, and these we holde *durante bene placito*, during his good pleasure and liking; that as our sinnes or deserts should require, wee might haue them enlarged or diminished, or indeede might bee wholly deprived. Againe, the condition of man is such, that being a creature he could not be independent, as not in his beginning, so not in his continuance (for God cannot impart this his owne royal prerogatiue); and being a creature made of nothing, there still remained in this creature, a power to returne vnto nothing: being made a reasonable creature, and hauing a spirituall soule, he had likewise a libertie and freedome in his own choice, either to stand or to fall. And thus the wisdome of the maker, and the state of man, did require as much in effect, that man might haue a mutable and changeable condition: whereas all other creatures which were at first determinated by God, as they are only carried by a naturall

The condition  
of man.



naturall instinct, so in themselves they are of an inferior degree, directed for the vse and service of others, and are therefore wholie vncapable of any further blisse. Herein did appeare the rule of Gods mercie, lest man in the pride and presumption of his owne heart, might obiekt against God, that he was created indeed, but onely created for Gods service, and therein God might seeme to intend onely his owne honour; therefore God hath appointed all other creatures to serue man, that so there might be some kinde of recompence or restitution made vnto man, while hee himselfe, with his continuall prouidence and power, intends the protection and preservation of man; and that it might for euer appeare, that the seruice of God is more honorable to man, then was the first appoyntment of his state and condition, for herein consisteth the height of mans happinesse.

Triall being thus made of mans obedience, before I come to the sinne, I must first speake of the tentation: the nature of man was innocent and incorrupt, as being Gods owne immediate workmanship, his condition was great, his vnderstanding perfect and pure; where then shall we finde the first roote, seede, and occasion of this corruption? to make two different gods of good & of euill (with the Manichees), were to overthrow both, for who should set them at difference, or who should appoint them their bounds and limitations? Euill wants no positiue cause, being in it selfe a meere defect and priuation, want of light causeth darknesse, &c. or if you will suppose a fountaine of euill, then it should suddainely dissolue it selfe, as consisting of such contrarieties, which could neuer be reconciled: as for example, while partialitie and oppression, should strue to encounter each other in iudgement, and to make themselves strong in their factions; falsehood

Ec

and

Other creatures ordained for man, as man was for God.

There can be no God of Euill.

*Manichees*



and lying should interpose it selfe as an vmpire, or an advocate, and so cunningly corrupt and suborne witnessses and evidencies on both sides, as neither of them should attaine to their purposes, (loe here sinne doth overthrow the kingdome of sinne, and cannot together subsist with it selfe), now both of them failing, iustice takes place. Whereas all the vertues are tyed together in one golden chaine, *idem volumus, idem nolumus*, proceeding from one fountaine, and not able seuerally to subsist, directed to one end, supporting and vpholding each other, to the vttermoſt of their power; Truth will depose in the behalfe of a right; Iustice will stand in defence of that right; Wisedome will guide and direct iustice, and send out her Commission to Strength, for the due execution of her lawes; *Ierusalem adificatur ut ciuitas, pacem habens ad inuicem.*

Man though  
innocent, yet  
capable of  
euill.

Man therefore being totally sanctified; inwardly in the faculties of his soule, outwardly in the right rule of his senses, and the gouernment of his flesh; being thus sanctified in the wombe, sealed vp with originall grace, yet still hee had the freedome of his will, according to the condition of his nature; the will being immateriall, not chained vp with any naturall instinct, but such as did follow the direction and information of his vnderstanding; his vnderstanding likewise though sufficiently perfect, yet had it a certaine measure and bounds in her perfection, (as all things finite may well admit infinite degrees). Thus all were created good; the will had a libertie and free election, wherby making choice of the better part, she might deserue at Gods hands her further confirmation in blisse; the vnderstanding hauing degrees, which are necessarily incident to all creatures in generall, might in the humble submission of her selfe, serue and please God, expecting a further illumination, by Gods holy grace, direction and prouidence;



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Hitherto you see in man a power to stand, or to fall; *posse malum per velle bonum, cum vinceret Adam, posse bonum per velle malum, sibi perdidit* : There was onely a capacitie in his minde, but for the inferiour nature of his flesh, it was wholly sanctified; no ill fantasie could appeare in his braine, no inordinate motion in his members, his senses not dissolute, stragling and wandring; only according to the condition of a creature, hee was capable of a fall, capable of transgression : which capacitie was good in it selfe, the minde being not indifferently affected to both, but rather inclining to good, especially Gods assisting grace, helping and furthering the better part. And therefore it might well stand with Gods decree, and the course of his iustice, to suffer man to be tempted ; tempted, I say, not by his owne flesh, or that the inward parts should conspire against man, but to be outwardly tempted, *à longè*, a farre off; for hitherto the diuell had no power ouer the body, or substance of man: so as man might easily haue resisted, either with his owne naturall strength, or by the furtherance of his originall grace, God hauing forewarned him, giuen him a caution, and threatned his punishment, *in quocunque die comedas, morte morieris*. Thus Christ himselfe hauing a reasonable soule, and the freedom of his will, was likewise subiect to an outward tentation.

For prooffe hereof, that man should bee outwardly tempted, obserue the diuersity of tentations, in this corrupted state of man : sometimes against the rule of reason, and the inward light of his owne conscience, man is prouoked to some vncleane and carnall sinne; heere flesh and blood, and the concupiscence thereof, are the sole actors : sometimes when neither flesh nor spirit

That God might iustly suffer man to be tempted.

How we may discern an outward tentation.



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How we may discern an outward tentation.



are inclined, yet the pompe and pride of this world, allures man to sinne; and sometimes when nothing in nature (I say nothing in corrupted nature) can moue, yet an euil spirit, obseruing the soules actions, and thereby iudging of her disposition, considering the course and inclination of humours, doth stir vp fit notions in the fansie, and thereby perswades vs to sinne. As for example, many there haue been, whom wee may well remember with sorrow and grieffe, as hauing been the most accursed of all men, who haue offered violence to themselues, and haue proued selfe-homicides: now let vs search, where is the first roote of this tentation? not in flesh and blood, for therein we finde no such inclination: not in the pride and vanitie of this world, which rather desires to retaine vs as slaues in her seruice, then to manumit, or to set vs at libertie; not in whole nature, which though neuer so much corrupted, yet she desires life, and the preservation of her selfe: and therefore this tentation proceedes from some spirit, that is malevolent and opposite to nature, and intends nothing more then the corruption of nature; which being not able to effect in the whole, seekes to vndermine and supplant each one in particular.

Where wee  
might finde  
the first foun-  
taine of sinne.

Man being outwardly tempted, could not be the first cause of sinne; by the streames then I will trace out the fountaine; and heere I will make a diligent search for that, which I could wish had neuer been found, I meane the first roote and occasion of sinne, where sinne should take the beginning; lower then the state of man I cannot descend, for wherein there is no freedome of will, (that creatures may in some sort be left to themselues), there can bee no power or abilitie to sinne: and as waters cannot ascend higher, then are the heads of the fountains; so earthly contagions arising from dumbe creatures, cannot deface Gods image. Now this is  
strange,



strange, that I should looke vp, and aboue man for that, which brings man downe, and beneath himselfe; yet this I must doe, for thus sinne may alter and change our condition. I haue alreadie proued that there could bee no God of sinne, no God of euill, which is euident by considering the properties of euill in it selfe: I must therefore come to those creatures, which seeme to bee placed in degree betweene God and man; and these are the angelicall spirits, whom I do the rather accuse, considering that in man himselfe (though body and soule, are both tainted with sin), yet the sinne it selfe seemes first to proceede from the soule and spirit of man, as being more capable, and therefore more culpable: here then I must blame and charge the created spirits to haue been the first fountaines of euill, and first to haue infected the world with corruption.

Here wee must consider the different condition of creatures, some bodies, some spirits, as euery thing is compounded of matter and forme, and the forme it is which giues the existencie, and indluiduation: these seuerall degrees of creatures make much for the absolute perfection of nature; especially when as all bodies seeme to bee contained and continued within the circumference of the first body: what should we thinke, is about the conuexitie of the heauens? an infinite *vacuum*? rather acknowledge a want in mans vnderstanding, then that there should want inhabitants in such an excellent region; where the heauens are their footstooles, to tread and walke ouer our heads, where they are freed from all annoyance of creatures, and partake only of happinesse. As in great buildings, the meanest and basest offices are alwaies beneath, (suppose the Kitchin, the Seller, the Buttrie, the Pantrie); but for the stately and magnificent roomes for entertainment (suppose the dining Chamber, the Galleries, the Turrets),



The Angels  
might fall.

and places of pleasure, these are aboue: and thus it is with vs in respect of the Angels, the truth and certaintie whereof I haue already proued in the first part. Now supposing these spirits, their condition must bee alike with ours, who are in some sort, and in the better part spirituall: as they were made of nothing, so they must haue a determinate goodnesse in their nature, faculties, & actions; being spirits, they had a freedom of wil: God did herein make them like vnto himselfe, as he was able to create of nothing, so they might will, when as nothing should moue them to will; and hauing a limited vnderstanding, which might admit error and darknes, through their own pride, they might will nothing, that is, they might will sinne; for sinne is a defect, a priuation, a kinde of nothing: in this their willing, although they could not will themselues, to bee nothing, to destroy their owne condition, for this were to vndoe that, which God alreadie hath done; yet they could will, or rather bewitch themselues, to bee worse then nothing, for sinne is nothing, and to be the seruant of sinne, it is to be worse then nothing. Thus in the Angels, as well as in man, in regard of their limited goodnesse, and the freedom of their willes, there was a power, and capacitie (or rather a weakenesse and impotencie) to sinne, and to fall.

The fall of  
the Angels.

And many of them sinned accordingly, God in his wisdom permitting the sinne, and thereby teaching all creatures what they are in themselues: for as in the same kind of spirits, the best creatures are extant, so the worst and most accursed should likewise be found, that no creature might boast of an absolute perfection; that euery one might know himselfe, and suspect his owne fall, and that all our righteousness, is *tanquam pannus menstruatus*, like a spotted and defiled garment. Nothing can endure Gods triall and touch-stone, for the  
Angels



Angels are not acquitted in his sight, &c. Now their sin was a dislike of their present condition, and the aspiring to be equall, and like to their Maker; made of nothing, hauing nothing of themselues, yet they must contest with their infinite Maker, for dignitie and superioritie: whether it were that they did consider, that there were three persons in one most holy, blessed, and vndiuided Trinitie, which being a mysterie farre transcending the reach of all creatures, they could not comprehend (for fully to comprehend God, is indeed to be God); but might happily conceiue, that the Deitie would admit of more persons: or whether by the excellencie of their owne knowledge they did fitly gather, that as the creation was a worke of Gods infinite loue, and as God was existent euery where, according to the infinite extent of his owne nature; so as an infinite effect of that infinite loue, God should tye vnto himselfe some creature, by an infinite band, namely by an hypostaticall vnion; and therefore some of them did claime and challenge this high prerogative aboue other creatures, by vertue of their birth-right. But herein did appeare their ignorance and pride, for the creature was not to aspire to the height and dignitie of the Creator, but the Creator was to descend to the humilitie and basenes of the creature; neither was God to be vnited to the angelicall nature (though otherwise highest in order and condition), but to descend lower, to giue a more vndoubted token of that infinit loue, euen to the humane nature and manhood. Mans nature being the center in the midst of the circumference; a little Microcosme, in whom all the creatures are vnited, things sensible partake in his body, the intelligent spirits are combinde in his soule: and thus God taking the nature of man, sits in the very midst of his creatures, imparting himselfe infinitely to all, so farre soorth

Coniectures  
what might  
moue the An-  
gels to sinne.

2

8



The sinne of  
the Angels  
was unpardo-  
nable.

Man may re-  
pent, but the  
Angels can  
not.

as it may well stand with the truth of his Godhead, and with the state and condition of the creature.

Thus they might mistake in iudgement, supposing there might be some probabilitie to effect it: but I must chiefly and principally condemne their vnthankfulnes, their pride, their presumption, which gaue way and occasion to this their error: but hauing once committed so great a cōtempt, such a foule indignitie against God, it could not stand with his iustice freely to pardon their sinne, or to intend the meanes of their redemption, as in his mercie hee hath performed to man; for the Angels were the first creatures, highest in dignitie and condition; the great measure of their knowledge and graces was such, as that we doe not reade that God did euer appoint them lawes, but that it might bee supposed that they of themselves should bee wholly conformable to God. Againe, they were not tempted by others, and therefore as the sinne could no way bee cast vpon others; so being impotent of themselves to make any recompence; they could no way receiue benefit by the satisfaction of others: the state of the Angels was created such, as that they were not capable of repentance, they cannot change their mindes, or their willes; whatsoever they see, they see in an instant, whatsoever they desire, their will is confinde to the first motion, that they cannot alter or change their desire; so that, if once they shall make choice of the worser part, in vaine may we expect, that euer they should returne to the better. Whereas the condition of man is mutable and changeable, as capable of sinne, so capable of repentance; as hee falles of himselfe, so hee may rise againe by the assistance of grace; for God hath giuen him a discursive reason, proceeding by degrees; if now hee mistakes himselfe, hereafter hee may bee better informed. As the inconstancie of his nature may  
cause



cause the alteration of his will, so God fitly vsing this his inconstancie (as it were working in euery thing, according to that manner which is most proper and naturall to the thing), may make it a meanes for the amendment and conuersion of man; especially being tempted by others, laying hold on Gods mercie, hee might receiue the full satisfaction for his sinnes, by the meanes and passion of another.

I doe not heere purpose to speake of the creation of Angels, their nature, their office, their blessings, their cursings, I wil only speake of them so farre forth as they concerne man. Supposing then that some of them fell, and some of them stood, some reprobated and cast into darkenesse, some sealed and confirmed in goodnesse; most certaine it is, that all creatures in generall, as they haue, what they haue, onely from God, so are they tied to his seruice and ministerie: now in the good Angels, God requires not onely the free oblation of themselves, but likewise as they are vessels of mercie in themselves, so they should be Gods instruments of mercie to others; but in the euill Angels, as the power of Gods iustice appears in their reprobation, so hee ordaines them, to bee the fire-brands of his iustice: onely with this difference, God stirres vp the good Angels, ioynes with them in the action, and giues them the high dignitie to bee his fellow-workemen and labourers; but in the euill Angels, there is sometimes onely a bare permission of God, sometimes a power inforcing the execution of iustice; but alwaies a prouidence, so to limit and bound the actions, that it might appeare, that the iustice proceeds from God, the malignitie from themselves. Thus the execution of iustice, the torturing of others, discouers their owne cruelty, their vncompassionate heart, their malice, their enuie against God and his creatures; and these are sinnes which

The office and ministerie of Angels.

both  
good &  
bad  
Angells  
8



The difference  
of good and  
bad Angels.

which must be punished againe in the instruments, and therefore according to the rule of Gods iustice, these euill spirits in tormenting others, themselues are likewise tormented.

This diuersitie of Angels, some good and some bad, the generall consent of the whole world seems to confirme; which hath alwaies acknowledged, and put a difference betweene *bonus genius*, and *malus genius*. But hearken, doe you not heare the Oracles speaking so doubtfully; yea sometimes so maliciously, as may well argue the truth of a spirit, though otherwise the spirit of vntruth, falsehood, and wrong? If your hearing faile you, then behold the strange delusions and strong apparitions, which from time to time haue been discovered to all nations; whereof the naturall Philosopher can assigne no reason, and therefore must vndoubtedly flye to causes beyond the precincts of nature. If sight and hearing faile, yet life cannot subsist without touch, neither is there any sense of that certaintie: I pray' let vs trie this truth by this touch-stone, let vs haue a feeling of other mens miseries: some there are which are possessed with diuels, others bewitched: if any one doubt of this truth, let him know that Scripture doth warrant it, reason and experience confirms it; how is it possible that the body of man should be heauier, then if it did only consist of pure lead? can the spirits be so dull, the heate so allaid, and that onely by the ordinarie course of nature? how should the minde presage euil to come, without the helpe of some diuining spirit? how should they speake languages, wherein they were neuer instructed? All nations in the world can testifie this; all the lawes in the world, whether amongst Iewes, Gentiles, or Christians, doe witnesse it; daily experience confirms it: and for any man to embrace his owne priuate and particular opinion, before the generall recei-

ned

Demoniacs were in  
y<sup>e</sup> time of X. C. his  
Apostles only for  
confirmatio<sup>n</sup> of his  
deity & Gospell  
now print not post.

Ihawn o dwylh phel  
ydyw'r Gylhel  
bil o henw'e  
bil o rithie.

for dialoguall Discourses of 70<sup>th</sup> beaco  
of Spirits & deuils. 70<sup>th</sup> walk



ued truth of the whole world, it is to play the pure Secretary, &c.

Thus by the meditation of Gods iudgement, as likewise by outward and more manifest signes and tokens, appears the truth and certaintie of these euill spirits. Now for the tentation, I will first lay downe this for a ground-work; that as all bodies are contained within the circumference of one first bodie; all the elements adiacent and contiguous together, the fire it selfe next and immediatly vnder the spheare of the Moone, (and therefore this world carries a round figure, the forme of a Globe, that all things might be better prest and compacted together): so it stood with the vnitie and identitie of one & the same God, that all his creatures should be linckt and tyed together, to betoken and point out one workman. Thus he himselfe sitting aboue, and infinitely transcending all creatures, the holy Angels (as they draw neerer and neerer his throne, so doe they admit degrees in their order, and) make one perfect Hierarchie. The Angels are knit to this visible world, by the mediation of man, who consists of spirit and flesh; man here conuerseth with the dumbe creatures, takes them for his foode, vseth them for his labour. Now beneath all these creatures (as it is credibly supposed), in the heart or center of the earth there is the place of Hel, where the euill spirits are tormented, as in their owne habitation and dwelling; God hauing excommunicated the, he appointed a place best befitting their pride, most remote, and in the furthest distance from himself; to teach all the creatures, that notwithstanding their naturall right and dignitie, yet it lies in his power to cast them downe, to deiect them, and to make them the basest in degree and condition. Here then you see all the creatures knit together: now this order appears, not onely in place and precedencie, (as I may so say) but

How all the creatures are knit together.

Dionysius is confuted by Jn. Deacon in his last Book: pag. 137 & second Dialogue pag. 137. &c.

Et Celi est extra  
circumferentia  
sui in inferno.  
in 3.  
oppositio



Why God did  
suffer man to  
be tempted.

but likewise in the mutuall actions receiued from each other. In the visible world it sufficiently appeares, for all are directed to man; now in respect of the Angels, as it hath pleased God to appoint the good Angels to bee our guardians and protectors; so in his iustice, hee permits the euill Angels, to bee the tempters and tormenters of man; for thus it stood with the wisdom of God being dishonored by the Angels, to make a new triall of mans obedience, whom he created in place of the Angels (to accomplish the number of his elect), to see whether man would grow wise by their fall; and for default of mans strength, hee purposed to ingage himselfe in the quarell. Thus he suffers man to be tempted, vntill in his due time, hee shall set a wall of separation betweene both (by a definitiue sentence, or a iudgement past) for the setting and establishing of his creatures.

Here you see a commission graunted, and a power giuen vnto Satan to tempt man, and that in the time of his innocencie, (for innocencie is best discovered by the triall of tentation): thus Christ was likewise tempted in the wilderness, but Satan had not such an absolute power as was giuen him ouer Iob 1.12. *Loe, all that he hath is in thine hand*; or as it followes in the next chapter, verse 6. where his commission is renewed and enlarged, and power is giuen him ouer the bodie and person of Iob, *Loe hee is in thine hand, but saue his life*. Here rather, we may admire the wonderfull goodness of God, that had set such a separation betweene man and the diuell, that they could not outwardly conuerse together, as being creatures of a different kinde and condition: the diuell could not immediatly seduce his vnderstanding, delude his senses, stirre vp a commotion in his flesh, for all things were sanctified, herein his power was limited; he could not vse the ministerie and helpe

The great separation betweene man and the diuell.



helpe of the most noble and best creatures, as being sunke to the bottome vnder the degree of all creatures. Thus being destitute of all meanes, which in probabilitie might well succcede, hauing no right or interest to enter vpon mans body, or to stirre vp in mans fancie the least tentation to sinne; yet hee could not forbear to tempt, out of his enuie to man, as being heire of that happinesse, which at first did belong vnto him. Out of the malice to God, man bearing Gods image, and God taking a speciall care and charge ouer man; and therefore no marueile, if he first makes triall of those baser wormes (as it were), giuing the first onset, the first attempt vpon nature, making the first breach or entrance into nature, to see whether by their meanes and procuring, he might stirre vp and kindle commotion. Thus as if hee were newly crept out of hell, here lately arriued, and durst not appeare in sight, but would dissemble his coming, he makes choice of the Serpent, claimes neighbourhood, kindred, acquaintance, and familiaritie (for both are the basest of all creatures, and both together inhabit the bowels of the earth); here they enter a league, that if they could but cunningly seduce man, and draw him within the compasse of high treason, make him subiect to death by the breach of Gods law; then they would begge his goods and his substance, betweene them, they would share all his estate, the one should take his body, the other his soule for a bootie. Thus at length hee perswades the Serpent to be his Agent and factor, desiring to inuert and overthrow the whole course of nature, when the basest creature shall giue aduice and direction to the best, in the highest point of religion; and that the Serpent should deceiue the woman, the woman her husband, (the feete must guide and direct the head), notwithstanding Gods forewarning and threatning to the contrary.

That

The Diuel and  
the Serpent  
enter a league.



That the Ser-  
pent should  
speake.

The degrees  
of this first sin.

That this spirit should thus talke by the Serpent; doe you not conceiue how pipes and muscall instruments, doe yeeld a iust and fit sound, being plaied vpon by the hands of a curious Artfman? Doe not the wilde forrests and woods yeeld a proportioned eccho, according to the last clause of y<sup>e</sup> sentence? Do not many birds speake perfectly and distinctly many words very sensible and significant, being taught by the art and industrie of man? and shall we ascribe no more to the subtiltie of Satan, who being a spirit, is apt to penetrate all bodies, and well knowing the nature and vse of all instruments and parts, can fitly begin the motion? Now if any thing seemes strange in respect of our parents, you must consider, that as things were then newly created, so their experience could not be great; as their innocencie did keepe them from attempting euill, so it kept them from the least suspicion of euill: the sin it selfe taking growth by degrees, first the woman was tempted, who happily might be ignorant of Gods commaund, for the precept was not giuen vnto her. This woman tempteth her husband; alas what might you ascribe to the loue of a wife? she was not of his owne choice, but appointed by God for his helper, and therefore marke his excuse: Gen. 3. 12. *The woman which thou gauest me, gaue me the fruit:* he might haue supposed that both proceeded frō God: where as all other things were made onely for him, and giuen onely to him, so that he alone had the full possession of al, (this one fruite only excepted), his wife now bringing, and prouoking him to eate of this fruite, hee might suppose it to bee part of his wiues portion; that God had enlarged his commission, that now being a couple, the vse of this fruite was likewise permitted. But I cannot excuse *Adam*, for his wife was giuen as his helper, and therefore the sinne is much greater, that she should be a meanes to entice him in the breach of Gods law,



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law: though man shall leaue his father and mother, and cleaue to his wife; yet if any man hate not his wife and children, yea and his owne life also, and come vnto God, he shall not be accepted, Luke 14. 26. and he that shall forsake wife, or children, or lands for his sake, shall receiue an hundred-fold more, and shall inherit en everlasting life: Matth. 19. 29.

Now for the speech of dumbe creatures, let vs search what testimonies hereof wee shall finde among the Gentiles. *Plato* reports in his *Politico*: *Seculo aureo, regnante Saturno homines cum bestijs sermocinari potuisse*: here is the iudgement of an heathen man, concerning the speech of dumbe beasts, which certainly hath some relation to the speech of the Serpent in Paradise; and hence all the fictions of Poets, the metamorphosis and change of the creatures tooke their originall. More especially for the Serpent, let vs heare the testimonie of an heathen, *Pherecides Sirius dixisse fortur, demones à Ioue deturbatos è calo, eorumq, principem cognominatum esse Ophioneum (id est) Serpentinum*: and *S. Austin* seemes to make this instance, that Serpents are therefore insnared with inchantments, because they did first deceiue with inchantments, and herein seemes to be some proportion of iustice. Thus reason and the experience of all ages doe teach vs, that there are certaine ominous creatures, which (without all superstitious conceit) though they are not the causes of euill, yet do vndoubtedly presage and foretell vnfortunate events: can you then conceiue how these senselesse and dumbe creatures should haue such notions and phantasies, as to giue some outward token; were it not that they are guided and directed by some diuining and presaging spirit?

From the manner of his tentation, I come to the fin, the tasting of the forbidden fruite. God gaue man the full

age

In y golden age Saturn being king men could speak & confer with beasts

Testimonies of the heathen concerning the speech of dumbe beasts.

Pherecides y Sirian is reported to haue said y Ioue cast & hurld down troupe of Devils fro Heauen & their Prince was Synamed Ophioneus (y is) Serpentine



The greatnes  
of *Adams* sin.

full possession of Paradise; all other fruites were giuen for his foode, onely one is excluded, that it might serue for his soules food, that man might be nourished, and strengthened, by the keeping of Gods holy lawes and Commandements. If it seemes strange, that God for so small an offence, should condemne, not onely the first man, but the whole stocke and posteritie of man; small indeede it may seeme in mans eyes: but if you consider those many blessings which God had imparted to man, the happinesse wherein hee was created, the large measure of his knowledge, insomuch that he could not easily be deluded; the strict commaund of God only excluding this one fruite, permitting the free vse of the rest: these things well weighed, will vndoubtedly lay open the sinne; for the smalnes of the thing, makes the greatnesse of the offence. If you thinke that God in his person, or in his attributes, may any way be endamaged, or suffer eclipse through mans sin, ye deceiue your selues; for the whole world is but a point, & carries no sensible quantitie in respect of the heauens: all the mists that proceede from the earth, cannot any way indarken the Sunne, but are suddenly dissolued; it lies not in mans power to obscure Gods glorie, which either will drop downe in mercie, or breake forth in iustice: and therefore the greatest sinne in respect of Gods losse, may well bee ranckt with the least, and the least with the greatest; though otherwise not in respect of Gods commaund, his anger, his punishment.

What finnes  
*Adam* might  
then haue  
committed.

But I pray, what sinne could *Adam* haue committed at that time, greater then was the tasting of the forbidden fruite? Couetousnesse or oppression could not assault him, as hauing the whole world in possession; there was no place for enuie or wrath, as wanting a competitor; there were no publike assemblies to be blowne vp with gun-powder, no Princes to bee murdered, no  
factions



factions to bee massacred, no Churches to bee made a prey for sacriledge, no virgins to bee deflowred, no places of iustice which might be defiled with briberie, no legall proceedings, wherein periurie and false information might be admitted; no widow or fatherlesse to be subiect of wrong and oppression; mans owne knowledge, the many blessings receiued, together with the fresh memorie and experience of the creation, could not admit of idolatrie: and yet (according to the condition of those times) man was not wanting to his own sinne; as farre soorth as hee could, he tempted and provoked God (there being but one precept) in the breach of that one precept; if more had lien in his power, more he had attempted in a higher degree: but here was the mercie of God only to permit the least, for God deales with man as parents doe with young children, first to trie with the least, that so the first sinne might not at first sight be vnardonable.

We must here conceiue that according to the condition of man, who consists of body and soule, so there was both inward & outward corruption. In the mindes of our parents there was a great disobedience in the breach of Gods law; this disobedience proceeded from a great natural pride, in so much, that as by the inticing, so according to the example of the bad Angels, they sinned against God in a very high point of his prerogatiue; namely his wisdome, *eritis sicut dijs scientes bonum & malum*: as the Angels desired in generall to possesse the Throne of God, so man in this one particular point of his wisdome did aspire to be equall with God, and therein to vsurpe his prerogatiue: and heere the necessitie did seeme first to bee imposed vpon the wisdome of God, that the same wisdome should satisfie for the offence committed against it selfe; and therefore Iesus Christ the righteous, who was ver-

Ff

bun

The wisdom of God must satisfie, for the sin committed against it selfe.



*bum in intellectu, sapientia patris*, hee must interpose himselfe as a Mediatour betweene God and man, and bee the propitiatorie sacrifice for this sinne, hee must come downe in our flesh, and be like vnto vs, whereas we attempted to be like vnto him. He must breake the veile of the Temple and Ceremonies, lay open the secrecies and mysteries of his kingdome, and yet bee accounted an vnwise man, that so by the foolishnesse of preaching, he might correct, or confound the wilddome and subtiltie of a Serpentine generation.

Now marke the conformitie of our mindes with our forefathers, as the similitude of nature, so the similitude of corruption: The first sinnes of the minde seeme to be disobedience and pride, when we too highly esteem of our selues, neglecting and contemning all others; whereunto if you please to adde the naturall curiositie of our mindes, here is the first step and degree to a second fall, a fall into all damnable errors and heresies. And for our bodie, gluttonie seemes to bee the well-spring of all our carnall and bodily sinnes: as a surfeit is for the most part the beginning of all our diseases, the most dangerous of all our diseases, and whereunto man is most subiect and prone; it doth vndoubtedly argue that the first sinne was the sinne of a surfeite and gluttonie, the tasting of forbidden fruite. Marueile not, though our Diuines bee strict in preaching their fasts, & mortifications, for they desire to preuent sin in the roote: open warre will not easily preuaile against a State, vnlesse it bee diuided in it selfe with parts-taking, and factions: if the flesh be pliable and obedient to the spirit, wee neede not feare any outward assaults and tentations.

If still the offence seeme little, then you may well coniecture Gods wrath and indignation for sin, which breakes into vengeance for so small an offence: if the  
punish-

Pride is the  
first sinne of  
the minde.

Gluttonie is  
the first of all  
carnall sinnes.



punishment seeme over large, in respect of the crime, thou canst not truly iudge of the foulness of sinne, which is not to be valued according to mans own estimation, but as it is an high presumption and contempt of the basest worme against the infinite maiestie of the diuine power; yet in truth the punishment seemes not to be so dreadfull and horrid, as the case now stands, betweene God and man, *Thanks be to the mediator of this covenant betweene God and man (that God and man Christ Iesus)*: for now it serues rather as an occasion of a further blisse and happinesse, then as a punishment for sinne, *Felix culpa quæ talem habuit redemptorem*. The miseries of this life they are such, that if they be sanctified with Gods grace, seasoned with the hope of a better life to succede, receiued with patience, acknowledged with true humbleness of minde; I doubt not but in them wee shall finde sufficient comfort and consolation; in so much that wee may now safely triumph ouer death it selfe, *O death where is thy sting! O hell where is thy victorie! the sting of death is sinne, and the strength of sinne is the law: but thanks be vnto God, who hath giuen vs victorie through our Lord Iesus Christ.*

So much for the sinne, as it was radically inherent in *Adam*: now how the posteritie of *Adam* should be liable to the guilt of this sinne, together with the manner of propagating this sinne, I will speake briefly, and so conclude. It may bee questioned, whether it might stand with Gods iustice to condemne all, all the whole kinde, all the whole succession, the vnborne childe for the sinnes of one? And for answere of this question, I will extend my speech further, that if God, for no offence committed, should reprobate and torment all his creatures, yet could it not be any iniustice in God: for how shall the vessell say vnto the potter, why madest thou me thus? This I speake, hauing relation to Gods

The punishment was the occasion of our blisse.

How it stood with iustice to punish the posteritie of *Adam*.



The measure  
of Gods iu-  
stice.

infinite and vnlimited power : but as the case now stands, assuredly God neuer wrought in his creatures, according to the rigour and extent of his iustice, for the creation was a worke of mercie ; heere all things tooke their beginning from mercie ; being thus created, *Gods mercie doth overflow all his workes*. Hence it is, that mercie sometimes appeares without any taste of iustice, as in the free distribution of Gods graces ; but iustice is alwaies seasoned with the spice of mercie, in so much that in the paines of the damned, Gods mercie still appeares : for hee could by many degrees increase their tortures and torments, as their sinnes and deserts doe iustly deserue ; and notwithstanding their paine, yet still they retaine an entitatie perfection. Now to answer this doubt, the father is punished, sometimes in his sonnes ; the shame of the one redounding to the reproch of the other ; as you see it practised in our lawes, where for the fathers offence, the whole stock is attained : sometimes the sonnes doe share in the sinnes of their parents, as furtherers and abettors in his crime, being then in his loynes, and part of his substance. Thus it was with whole mankinde, in respect of *Adam*, who was like a politike body, and did sustaine the person of vs all ; and therefore as wee partake of his seede, partake of his inheritance, so it might well stand with iustice, that we should partake in his punishment. The punishment being such, as hath been the occasion of a farre greater blisse ; such (I say) as rather includes a priuation of that originall grace, which God first imparted to man, then any great inherent malignitie in our nature, whereby God intends our destruction ; and therefore seemes to bee some inferiour degree of our nature, that man descending, hee might ascend to a higher pitch of his happinesse.

How this sinne should be conueied to the posteritie  
of



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of *Adam*, I finde it a very difficult controuerſie, much questioned by our Diuines; and the rather, because ſin in it ſelfe is originally and primarily in the ſoule, as being the fountaine of all our actions, and therefore the onely ſubiect capable of ſinne. Now the Diuines, together with the Philoſophers agree, that the ſoule is immediatly created of God, and therefore being Gods owne worke, and nothing but Gods, it cannot be tainted with ſinne. Suppoſing this for a truth, my anſwere is, that ſinne ought not to be tyed to the ſeueral parts, to the ſoule, or to the body ſeparatly; but to the parts ioyntly together (that is) to the whole man, and to the whole kinde, as wee are the ſonnes of *Adam*; and then in his loynes actiuelly, in committing the ſinne, ſo wee are ſinners; *Quid quæris* (ſaith S. *Augustine*) *latentem rimam, cum habeas apertiffimam ianuam, per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intrauit, &c.* Why ſhould we inſtance in the ſoule, as it is created of God? Why ſhould we ſtand vpon the body, as it conſiſts of the elements? But take this ſoule when it becomes the forme of man, take this body when it becomes the veſſell and inſtrument of this forme, and then both are corrupted: actions and qualities ought not to be aſcribed to parts, but to the compound, or ſubiect. Thus whole man is become ſinfull, the guilt remaines in the whole nature, and the fruites of this ſinne appeares in the contrarietie and oppoſition of parts; the immoderate deſires of the fleſh, the rebellion of the fleſh againſt the good motions of the ſpirit, ſerues for an vndoubted euidence, to proue the corruption.

If it might be ſpoken without offence, I would further diſcuſſe this one queſtion; whether the ſoule bee created, or otherwiſe doth iſſue ſoorth from the ſoules of our parents, *an ſit ex traduce*? It is a generall receiued opinion, that the ſoule is immediatly created of God,

How the ſinne  
is conueied to  
the poſteritie  
of *Adam*.

*Anima eſt  
capabilis peccati  
ergo culpabilis*

Sinne is in the  
whole man,  
not ſo properly  
in the parts.

*y<sup>e</sup> beſt Diuinez ſay y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup>  
Soul is immediatly  
infuzed by God.  
& comes not  
from our Parents.*

Ff 3

as

*Traduce: Whear y<sup>e</sup> Soul be or com<sup>by</sup> propagation y<sup>e</sup> is from y<sup>e</sup>  
Souls of our Parents.*



Ergo y Soul comz  
by Infusion  
& not by propagatio

There may be  
a generation  
among spirits.

A posse ad esse

A posse ad esse:  
non valet Conse-  
quentia.

as being a spirit, and therefore admitting no seede; as being an immortall spirit, and therefore free from generation, growth, nourishment, or corruption. Saint *Augustine* alone considering the descent of this originall sinne, seemes to doubt of the soules first beginning, and originall; and therefore shrouding my selfe vnder his protection, I may safely say, that it is no inconuenience that there should be a generation among the soules of men, notwithstanding their spirituall condition. Did not God the Father beget his Sonne from all eternitie, *verbum in intellectu*, a word in his owne vnderstanding? Doth not the holy Spirit proceede from the Father and the Sonne? and might not the image of this Trinitie, appeare very lively in the creation of man? for *Adam*, God made his body of the earth, and for his soule, *Deus inspirauit. &c.* here was an immediate creation seuerally of both; for his naturall temper could not yeeld him a forme, as it did to all other creatures, *producant aqua reptile anima viuentis, & volatile super terram*: and againe, *Producant terra animam viuentem in genere suo, & reptilia, & bestias, &c.* *Adam* thus created, and cast into a dead sleep, part of his flesh, and why not part of his soule might as wel be taken for the creation of *Eue*? the rather to stirre vp loue, and conformitie betweene both, that they might be made one soule and one minde, as they were made one flesh; here God ceased from his labours, and therefore wee expect no longer creation. *Abel* being borne, partakes of their flesh, and why not partakes of their soule? for otherwise the sonnes of men, should not bee so properly sonnes, nor tyed to those naturall duties towards their parents, as are the dumbe creatures obliged to theirs. Thus that one spirit should beget another, it is the highest mysterie of our Christian faith and religion.

And

a nō ca  
vt cause  
79 notū  
per ignotū



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And it makes much for the absolute perfection in the worlds diuersitie, for God is a spirit generating his Sonne, and creating all creatures: the Angels are spirits, neither creating, nor generating; but being once created, subsist alone, and leaue no posteritie behinde them, being all created at once, and hauing a state of continuance in themselves; the soules of men are created, and being subiect to change and alteration in their state, may beget other soules, according to the condition of man, which is to be generatiue in his own kind. And thus Christ not onely in regard of his flesh, which he borrowes from the first elements, and hath his matter common with all the rest of the creatures; but more especially, and principally in regard of his soule, hee is the Sonne of man, descended from man; to this soule the Deitie was first linckt and vnited, and in this soule the hypostaticall vnion still continued, notwithstanding his naturall death, and the separation of his soule from his flesh: this soule did truly, locally and really descend into hell; and here the prophetic was verified, *Semen mulieris conteret serpentis caput*: The Sonne of man hath conquered hell, and damnation, and lead captiuitie captiue; which I could wish might most properly and literally be vnderstood. This soule (as all other separated soules) had in it selfe a naturall desire and inclination to returne to the body, which well argues that they are both twinnes; and in the time of their separation, the soules are still tyed to their naturall duties: for *Dives* (after his death) could remember his brethren, and yet they were not his brethren, were it not that they did partake of the soules of their parents; for otherwise all naturall consanguinitie and affinitie should cease in a naturall death.

It seemes very necessarie that the soule should bee conuained and diffused, *vnacum semine*, rather then that

Ff 4

the

*An anima sit  
extraduce.*

Y<sup>e</sup> Soul is freed & exempted from any Elementary Composition: or els it could neuer iudge aright of all bodyz: but rather would iudge & censure all things according to her temperature & Inclination: vide pag. 31. & so y<sup>e</sup> freedom of Mans will should suffer violence

Into hades: i. d. e. f.  
World of y<sup>e</sup> Dead  
or among y<sup>e</sup> Dead:  
or into y<sup>e</sup> vnseen world.

Hades is y<sup>e</sup> state of y<sup>e</sup> Dead whatsoever it be  
either happy or Cursed.

Bucer: et  
Tremel.



How the soule  
should toge-  
ther worke  
with the seede.

the body being already squared out, and the greatest part of the workmanship past, the soule should arrive (like an vnexpected guest) to this harbour: and it would greatly disparage man, first to be a plant, then a beast, then a man; which indeede saouours much of *Pythagoras* his transmigration. God hath appointed the seuerall kindes of creatures, but I cannot conceiue how there should be such degrees in the kindes; the essence and forme of a thing cannot be diuided within it selfe, *facultates animæ non distinguuntur ab essentia animæ*. I cannot possible imagine how vegetation and sense should be in y<sup>e</sup> embrion, before the accessse of the reasonable soule; for either they are the faculties of the succeeding soule (and heere you make a diuision of that, which indeede is inseparable), or else you must ioyne those things together, which are of a different nature; for if euer they were separated, then to compound them, were to confound them: or lastly, being first separated, they must still continue diuided, and so in the vnitie of one person, cause the multiplicitie of subjects.

As in heauen-  
ly bodies, so in  
spirits.

As the Starres and the celestially bodies, though pure, spirituall, simple, and incorruptible; yet all of them haue not in themselves their inbred and naturall light, but doe receiue their light from the Sunne, which is the fountaine of light; and this appeares by the eclipses, the coniunction and opposition of starres, as likewise by the order of the vniuerse, that all should be reduced to one, a number to an vnitie. And as it is thus in celestially and spirituall bodies and qualities, so why not in spirituall soules? the reason is the same, and the inconueniences should bee alike in both: herein consists a difference betweene things spirituall and things corporeall, the one imparts it self without his owne losse, the Sunne sends forth infinite beames, inlightens the whole



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whole world, yet loseth no part of his light; whereas bodily substances, the more they ingender, the more they detract from themselves.

That generation should necessarily inforce a corruption, there is no colour of truth. God the Father did beget his Sonne, and this Sonne is of equall perfection with the Father: God created all things of nothing, therefore shall all things returne againe vnto nothing? This is a false consequence; for being once produced, the same power shall vphold and continue them, which laid their first foundation: euery thing contains in it selfe a power, or rather an impotencie to returne vnto nothing; and no creature in it selfe is independent, but seeing it hath stood with Gods mercie first to produce them, it cannot but stand with the goodnesse and constancie of his will, still to continue them, and to preserve his owne most excellent workmanship. So that now all things relie not on the weaknesse of their own foundation and pillars, but on the inuincible strength of Gods power, the most certaine assurance of his promises, the most infallible effects of his providence: so that howsoeuer the production was, whether by creation, generation, alteration, &c. yet we shall not neede to doubt or feare the corruption. And whereas some will suppose, that creation would make more for the dignitie of the reasonable soule, let it suffice that at first she was created, & *inspiravit*, &c. she had a different beginning from the flesh or the body, she was not brought forth by vertue of any mixture, as the formes of other creatures were, which being not able to subsist of themselves, therefore both matter and forme were created in one lump together; so that still creation may not improperly bee ascribed to the reasonable soule, in regard of her first birth and natiuitie.

But the question is for the propagation of soules in these

A thing may  
be generated,  
and yet not be  
corrupted.

It sufficeth  
that the soule  
was at first  
created.



The authors  
opinion is, that  
*anima creatur  
ex traduce.*

*Anima qd.*

The reasons  
which moue  
him.

these times, me thinkes I should like an opinion which would reconcile both, that the soule should both bee created and likewise traduced. For seeing there is an action both of God and man, and both alike are ingaged in the generation of man; man in regard of a naturall birth generating a sonne according to nature; and God concurring not onely as to a creature, but as to him who might heereafter bee his sonne by adoption and grace: therefore in respect of Gods action, there is a creation which includes a beginning, different from the ordinary course & streame of nature; (for the soule is beyond the precincts of nature) and likewise excludes all subiect matter, whereof it might consist; for the soule is a spirituall substance, which without seede, and without losse of her parts is propagated by some extraordinarie power of God. To this creation man may concur, for *Eue* was created, though created of part of mans body; the Angels may minister in a worke of Gods infinite power, the soule though created, yet she may bee created *ex traduce*: and as man concurs with God in the action, so in respect both of God and of man there may be two different actions, as in many things which proceede from our finnes, yet God hath his goodnesse therein. Thus both the opinions may well together subsist, *anima creatur ex traduce*, in respect of God; *anima generatur ex traduce*, in respect of man, whose condition is generatiue. Yet whatsoever I haue herein spoken, I haue onely spoken by way of disputation, referring my selfe wholly to the iudgement of the Church; wherein if I haue sinned, or in any other words which haue past from me vnadvisedly, I doe here humbly desire God, to forgiue me the finnes of this pamphlet. Indeede I must confesse, I doe rather incline to this opinion, first for the authoritie of *S. Augustine*, whom I doe reuerence aboue all others: secondly,



secondly, that with stronger chaines I might knit and vnite the Godhead to our nature in the person of Christ, than barely to clothe him with our flesh, which is common to other creatures; when as his soule was created, himselfe conceived by the holy Ghost, and only borne of a Virgin: thirdly, to shew the certaintie of Gods promises to the elect, and to their seede; and likewise to manifest the dutie of children to parents, that they owe vnto them more then their flesh, (for thus if a man should giue me my foode, and my nourishment, he might likewise bee said to giue me my flesh); whereas Scripture affirmes, that a farre greater duty belongs vnto parents, and therefore it should seeme it is for some greater respect.

Lastly, that I might more easily trace out the paths of this originall sinne; how it is safely conuayed from the parents to the children, laid vp in the soule as the treasure, or rather the burthen thereof; and from the soule how it is deriued together with life, into the flesh, the bones, and the inward marrow of man; for the seede partakes as the strength and vertue, so the faults and infirmities of the whole man. There are naturall and hereditarie diseases which seeme to bee intailed to one stocke; there are many vices proper and peculiar to one kindred: see you not how diuers nations doe differ from others, as in their forme and their lineaments, so likewise in colour and properties? Doth not one man sicke of the plague infect the whole Citie, and is not the same infection alwaies aptest to taint the same blood: then why should it seeme strange, that the first man corrupted with sinne, should taint his whole seed? why should wee not suppose the poyson and malignitie of sinne, to be of as great efficacie, &c?

Thus (I hope) by the light of our naturall reason the fall and corruption of man sufficiently appears; which

Sinne is like an infectious disease.



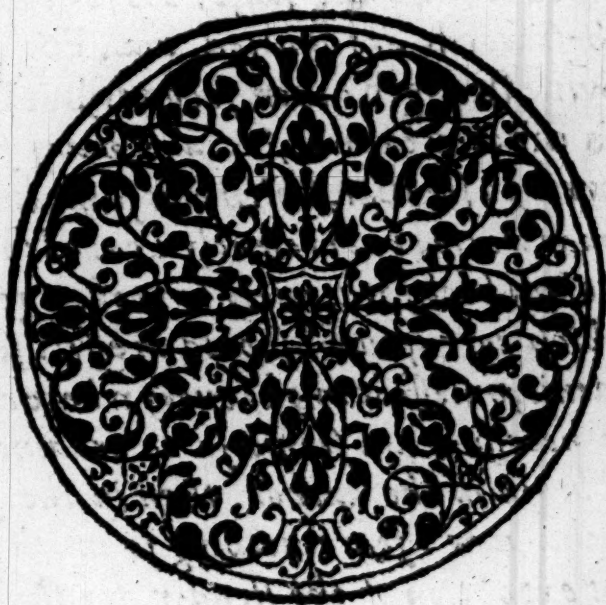
The conclu-  
sion of this  
Treatise.

I take to be the first principle and ground-worke of all our Christian faith and religion, as *S. Augustine* saith in *lib. 1. aduersus Iulianum, cap. 2.* *Alia sunt, in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi, atque optimi regula Catholica defensores, salua fidei compage, non consonant, & alius alio de vna re melius dicit & verius; sed lapsus hominis, ad ipsa fidei pertinet fundamenta; quisquis in Christiana fide vult labefactare (quod scriptum est, per hominem mors, & per hominem resurrectio mortuorum, & sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita in Christo omnes viuificabuntur), totum quod in Christum credimus auferre molitur.* Before I can presume to raise man, necessarie it is that man should first acknowledge his fall; and seeing his owne fall, should therefore distrust in himselfe, and in his owne naturall light; and from this diffidence in himselfe, should desire to be instructed in those waies which concerne his saluation. Hee that is sicke, wants a Physitian, and if hee takes his owne ordinarie nourishment, it will increase his disease: he that is fallen and wallows in the mire, the more he struggles and strives, the deeper hee sinke. Let it suffice, that being fallen and corrupted in our selues, wee may rouse vp our spirits, and looking to those few sparkes of reason, which now lie raked vp in the dead embers of our nature, wee may againe kindle and inflame them, at the burning and shining lampe of our faith, setting before our eyes that day-starre, which springing from an high hath visited vs, Christ Iesus, our onely deare Lord and Saviour Christ Iesus; who is the way, the truth, and the life, the way to direct vs to the truth, the truth to guide vs to life, the life to giue vs full contentment of happinesse: who is the way, the truth, and the life, in whom wee liue, wee moue, and haue our being, by whom, for whom, and through whom, we hope and expect our saluation; to whom with the eternall Father, and the most holy spirit, three



three persons and one God, be all honour and glorie, as  
before the foundations of the world were laid, so in the  
beginning, is now, and ever shall bee world with-  
out end, Amen, Amen.

FINIS.



The Specials do allwaies retaine y<sup>e</sup> Comon  
nature of theire Generals, & y<sup>e</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> fitly  
accord: howsoever, by reason of some repug-  
nant formz, they allwaies dissent among  
themselbz.

In habundantia q<sup>u</sup>libet similitudo: facilioz fiat transmutatio.



The Author to the  
Reader.

II 1A 69

**G**ood Reader, I must heere let thee understand, that the copie was not of mine owne writing, whereby many things were defac't and omitted: and living not in towne, I could not be alwaies present at the Presse, so that I confesse many faults have escaped; especially in the first sheetes, being begun in my absence, points displaced, words mistaken, peeces of sentences omitted, which doe much obscure the sense. As for example, pag. 69. lin. 6. these words are omitted, viz. For if the horse knew his owne strength? then followes, but God deales herein with other creatures, &c. and many such like. I was very sorrie, to see that, which was so meane in it selfe, should be made worse: but presently I called to mind, that the subiect of my booke, was onely to proue a generall corruption; which corruption I should in effect seeme to disproue and denie, unlesse it might euery where appeare, and therefore a necessitie did seeme so to ordaine it, that it should first begin in the author, then in the pen, then in the presse, and now I feare nothing so much as the euill and corrupt exposition of the Reader, for thus there is a generall corruption. How happie was I to make choice of such a subiect, which seemes to excuse all the errors of my Pamphlet? especially (good Reader) if I shall finde thy louing and kinde acceptance, well hoping that all others will be charitable to me, as I am most charitable to al others, and so I commit thee to the God of charitie.

Knowells Hill, the 4. of Iune. 1616.

G.G.

me crimine  
vinit.

Mu. non  
duicis  
tue.



